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UT CLAUSES¹

I. INTRODUCTORY.

The study of *ut* clauses has in the past followed chiefly the functional method. Dahl's classification is by the kind of usage—interrogative, relative, temporal, and so on—and in each instance arrives either at an equivalence (*ut* = *quomodo*) or at a functional epithet (*ut* iterative). Bennett tends more toward a description of the clauses with which *ut* is used but he too arrives at such results as "*ut* causal" or "*ut* although."

A further general characteristic of the study of *ut* in the past is that it usually begins with an attempt to explain the origin of the particle. This explanation ought to be a result rather than the starting point of an investigation of *ut*.

The fundamental point of departure should be the fact that juxtaposition in continuous discourse establishes the existence of relation between two sentences or clauses. This relation, clear in the mind of the speaker or writer, may or may not be obvious to the hearer or reader. To make it more so, various means were devised, usually unconsciously, as language developed. The chief problem was to define the relationship so that, of many possible ones, the hearer or reader would be sure to arrive at the one intended.

Sometimes the repetition of a word accomplished the desired

¹The study outlined in this paper was begun long ago in connection with an investigation of the methods employed in the Latin language for expressing sentence relations. It was recently brought to a focus in a seminar course. Much of the material used was collected and many of the suggestions proposed by the members of the seminar to whom acknowledgment is gratefully made: Miss M. V. Braginton, Mr. A. R. Bellinger, Mr. Nicholas Moseley, and Mr. E. H. Hazen.

end, sometimes a change of mode, sometimes an adverb was added to give precision. Pronouns and adverbs assumed a very large share of the responsibility as carriers of the connective idea. With time, conjunctions developed to perform this function and, once established, they are frequently looked upon as the chief expression of connection. But it must always be borne in mind that the conjunction was not primarily the carrier of the connective idea. The relation being always present was likewise always expressed, however inadequately. It was a secondary development by which the conjunction came to contain within itself the notion of connective relation.

The most important problem therefore is to observe carefully and extensively the kinds of sentences with which a particular conjunction is used, the types of relationship between contiguous sentences one of which includes the conjunction, and the behaviour of both sentences in such relations with and without the conjunction and also with other more or less mechanical means for expressing the relation in specific instances.

The classification of sentences with a given conjunction must be, as far as possible, objective, in order to avoid any prejudice arising from pre-conceived notions as to the meaning and origin of the conjunction. To this end, subjective, philosophical categories must be rigidly excluded as well as all categories depending on an interpretation of the conjunction.

Observation of *ut* clauses shows that *ut* is used sometimes with sentences whose verb is in the indicative mode and sometimes with sentences whose verb is in the subjunctive. The two types of sentences in Latin are pretty clearly differentiated and the uses of the two modes are known to be fundamentally different. To be sure, there are uses of the subjunctive in the fully developed language that are not easy to distinguish functionally from indicative uses, but on the whole the formal distinction is sufficiently real and obvious to serve as a legitimate basis for a primary classification.

Ut clauses with the indicative conveniently distribute themselves into four classes: 1) those in which the *ut* clause is the whole sentence; 2) those in which the *ut* clause is injected into an otherwise complete sentence; 3) those in which the *ut* clause is not injected into an otherwise complete sentence but is coincident in thought with another clause; 4) those in which

the *ut* clause is consecutive in thought with another clause, to which it is logically either antecedent or subsequent.

The same subdivision proves feasible with the *ut* clauses whose verb is in the subjunctive, although the resulting types of usage are naturally quite different. In order to arrive at an understanding of the development of types, as far as that is possible, it is most satisfactory to treat each of these subdivisions in order, considering both the indicative and the subjunctive clauses under each, rather than to follow through independently the various uses with each mode.

II. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES.

In entirely independent sentences exhibiting the particle *ut* attached to the verb, three types appear: 1) exclamations, 2) questions, 3) exhortations or commands. The first two types appear with both modes, the third with the subjunctive only.

The simple indicative may express, without any further defining means, an exclamation, a question, or a statement. In conversation the tone determines which is intended. With written discourse the tone disappears and an unsupported indicative is presumably the expression of a statement unless the context very clearly indicates that it is not. Exclamations are not always very precisely distinguishable from statements or questions and the language altogether naturally developed means to define them. Questions also developed auxiliary means of definition which further distinguished two types of question, the yes-no question and the pronominal question which calls for a more general answer than yes or no.

The unsupported subjunctive expresses some degree or kind of will. What this degree or kind of will may be in each instance is determined by the person, tense, meaning of the word, and the force of other injected words interpreting the subjunctive. The resultant shades of will may be order, exhortation, advice, determination, wish, consideration, simple futurity. Some of these may become interrogatory or exclamatory in effect and frequently develop supporting means of definition to distinguish them from the simpler subjunctive of will.

It is clear that exclamations and questions developing from a mode primarily employed for statement are sure to be of a different sort from those developed from a mode primarily ex-

pressive of will. The difference will not lie primarily in any supplementary means such as a particle.

Ut seems to have been introduced freely into exclamatory sentences with the indicative, helping to differentiate them from simple statements. This usage is found with all persons and numbers and with practically all tenses. It occurs in all periods of the language but is naturally most common in the conversational discourse of Plautus and Terence. Pl. Capt. 165: *Ut saepe summa ingenia in occulto latent!* Pl. Cas. 432: *ut ille trepidabat, ut festinabat miser!* Pl. Cist. 112: *ut mi excivisti lacrimas!* Cic. Ad Att. 3. 11. 2: *ut ego tuum amorem et dolorem desidero!* Quint. 6. proem. 11: *ut me in supremis consolatus est!*

Other means used to mark an indicative as exclamatory will occur at once. For example, Cic. Cat. IV. 15: *quo studio consentiunt!* Without some such support it is almost impossible except by the inflection of the voice to distinguish between exclamation and statement.

The *ut* is frequently supported by an exclamatory phrase or by particles or adverbial phrases indicating an exclamatory tone. Pl. Ep. 56: *Di immortales, ut ego interii basilice!* Ter. Heaut. 1063: *heia, ut elegans est!* Sen. De Ben. 2. 13. 1: *O superbia magnae fortunae! ut a te nihil accipere iuvat! ut omne beneficium in iniuriam convertis!* etc.

An imperative may be injected similarly into the exclamatory sentence, calling the attention of someone to the thing exclaimed upon. Ter. Eun. 919: *vide ut otiosus it!* Pl. Cas. 852: *obsecro, ut valentulast!* In such instances the most interesting phase is the tendency for the injected word to assume the leading role in the sentence until it is looked upon as the main verb in spite of its originally auxiliary character. This is a most important tendency syntactically and of wide application. It is perhaps even more apparent when an interrogative phrase is injected instead of an imperative. The commenting phrase tends constantly to become the main one. Pl. Curc. 188: *viden ut misere moliantur!* Pl. Men. 919: *audin tu ut deliramenta loquitur!* Such sentences as these indicate the methods by which subordination developed and by which a new form of sentences came into existence. Such an instance as the following is plainly on the borderline: Pl. Truc. 463: *vosmet iam videtis ut ornata incedo!*

The subjunctive is much less frequently used than the indicative in exclamations. This is natural in view of the will notion always present in it, for an exclamation in the subjunctive naturally takes on the tone of an order. As will be seen, however, there are certain questions expressed by the subjunctive which lend themselves to exclamatory use especially in the first person. There the notion of will comes into the question from the statement which gives rise to the question and which is usually to some extent repeated or echoed. It is not therefore a primary use of the subjunctive. An example is Pl. Aul. 82: *Ego intus servem!* Euclio has just said to Staphyla: *redi nunciam intro atque intus serva*, and this is her answer. There is naturally a doubt whether this should be taken as an exclamation or as an indignant question. The tone of order in the *serva* is transferred in either case to the *servem*. The same is true of Ter. And. 618: *tibi ego ut credam!*

With such questioning exclamations *ut* is not infrequently used. Pl. Amph. 694: *te ut deludam!* Pl. Most. 14: *comesse ut quisquam possit!* The development into a subordinate clause is not difficult, as is indicated by such a usage as Pl. Rud. 12: *noscamus: ut quemque adjuvet opulentia!*

Questions occur in early Latin both with the indicative and with the subjunctive. The questions with the indicative are of two sorts. An interrogative tone may be given to a simple statement, in which case it calls for an answer either assenting or dissenting and is regularly called a yes-no question. Without the tone of voice to define such questions, some further indication was necessary and certain particles became identified with these yes-no questions. On the other hand, a simple statement may be turned into a question of information by the introduction of pronouns, adverbs, and the like. These questions call for an informational answer and are ordinarily called pronominal. The two types are most commonly marked in English, the first by inverted order, the second by inverted order plus an interrogative.

The subjunctive question, like all independent subjunctive sentences, has a fundamental notion of will, not always apparent at first glance. It becomes however quite understandable when the division of functions involved in an expression of will is considered. When the speaker is one person and the hearer and

actor a second there is no confusion whatever in the nature of the will notion, nor is there much when all three are distinct persons. But when speaker, hearer and actor are all one, the situation is necessarily more intricate. The expression of will with respect to one's own action becomes really a statement of determination which in turn may become simple positive futurity. If on the other hand the expression of will in the first person is turned into a question, the interrogation applies rather more to the will element than to the action and the question is ordinarily called deliberative. Pronominal questions and yes-no questions may both occur with the subjunctive and the usage was extended to other persons than the first.

Ut seems hardly to have been used with yes-no questions in the indicative. They developed a special particle *-ne* (also *nonne* and *num*). It is true that such an instance as Pl. Truc. 577: *ut vales?:: valeo* might seem to be an example of *ut* with a yes-no question and Hor. Epist. I. 3. 12 has been interpreted in the same way: *ut valet? ut meminit nostri?* But these Horatian questions may be fact questions—most probably are—and that would leave the example from Plautus presumably unique. Such being the case, it seems much easier to believe that Cyamus answers Phronesium carelessly especially as she asks two questions at once, *quid agis? ut vales?* and the answer *valeo* would be an answer to the combination. Cf. Cic. Ad Q. Fr. II. 3. 7: *quid agas et ut te oblectes scire cupio maximeque te ipsum videre quam primum.*

With the other type of question *ut* is not infrequent. Pl. Merc. 391: *quid? ea ut videtur mulier?:: non edepol mala.:: ut moratast?:: nullam vidi melius mea sententia.* The use of the adverb in the answer is typical and makes it perfectly clear what sort of a question we are dealing with. Compare Livy, X. 18. 11: *ut sese in Samnio res habent?* Hor. Sat. II. 8. 1: *Ut Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?* Pl. Most. 718: *ut vales?:: non male.* Not infrequently the answer also has *ut*. Pl. Rud. 311: *quid agitis? ut peritis?:: ut piscatorem aequomst, fame sitique speque falsa.*

It should be noted again at this point that the insertion of a phrase has strong influence in changing the nature of a construction. In Pl. Most. 172, after *quin me aspice et contempla*, the manuscripts give *ut haec me decet*, which editors, following Camerarius, have changed to *ut haec me deceat*. And yet *deceat*

is quite possible and *ut decet* is then a pronominal question and *aspice* and *contempla* quite independent of it.

With subjunctive questions however *ut* was used with the yes-no type and not with the pronominal. Bennett recognizes, in addition to the exclamatory question already noted, four types of subjunctive questions which are ordinarily grouped under the term "deliberative." There seems to me to be very little if any fundamental difference between them. Bennett lists *quid faciam* (Pl. Bacch. 634) as a true deliberative; *quid faciam* (Pl. Amph. 155) as a subjunctive of impossibility or helplessness; *quid scribam* (Pl. Bacch. 731) as subjunctive of inquiry after a command; and *quid memorem* (Pl. Amph. 41) as a question of duty or fitness. Obviously these questions vary in tone according to the context which gives to each its own shade of meaning. One possibility has been perhaps overlooked in the study of these questions. I have already noted how the tone of command in what one speaker says may be carried over into the resulting exclamation or question of another. This seems to me to be pretty clear in all of the rather numerous instances which Bennett cites of inquiries after commands. He also notes that such inquiries are also the origin of the questions of fitness and duty as well as those of helplessness and impossibility. In other words, Bennett would make a real distinction between questions addressed to one's self and questions addressed to someone else. This seems more substantial as a basis of distinction and more enlightening. The pure deliberative is the result of the expression of will in the first person turned into interrogative form. Other questions ordinarily accepted within this group would most naturally be in the indicative but the notion of will enters from the preceding command and is transferred to the question.

The exclamatory questions have already been illustrated. They are of the general type of Pl. Aul. 81: *intus serva:: ego intus servem*, already noted. They are often introduced by *-ne*, by *ut*, and sometimes by both. Pl. Asin. 91: *me defraudato:: ten ego defrudem?* Ter. And. 383: *dic:: egon dicam?* Ter. And. 618: *oh, tibi ego ut credam, furcifer?* Cic. Cat. I. 9. 22: *Te ut ulla res frangat, tu ut umquam te corrigas?* Cic. Pro Planc. 13. 31: *pater ut in iudicio capitis obesse filio debeat?* Cic. T. D. II. 18. 42: *egone ut te interpellam?* Ter. And. 263: *ein ego ut advorser?*

This seems really to be the only type of subjunctive question with which *ut* is used. The context always shows that a negative answer is expected.

The third group of independent sentences in which *ut* appears is that of exhortations and commands. The verbs in this group are all in the subjunctive for the imperative mode developed such a narrow field as to require almost no supplementary means to define its particular meaning in each occurrence. Words and phrases were sometimes added to give a variation in tone; *sis* is common and such verbs as *quaeso*, but the range of supplementary indicators is also greater.

Bennett (I. pp. 163 ff.) gives an extensive list of examples of the subjunctive expressing command without any introductory particles. Logically, in accordance with his theory, he confines himself to the second and third persons. Since I have adopted the theory that the will notion is fundamental throughout the subjunctive, I would add the first person sentences. These express will in terms of determination, wish, exhortation and so on. They are familiar: Ter. Heaut. 273: *hoc quod coepi primum enarrem*. Cic. Leg. II. 3. 7: *considamus hic in umbra*. Cic. Ad Fam. XV. 19. 4: *peream nisi sollicitus sum*.

The will notion is naturally more frequently expressed in the second and third persons than in the first and it is only to be expected that the first person singulars will be rare, occurring for the most part in the form of determined future will. On the other hand when others are included with the speaker, the jussive use is more natural and the hortatory first person plural instances are more numerous. In the singular, the need of further definition seems to have been felt and we have *modo ut*. For example, Ter. And. 409: *modo ut possim*, Dave. In Plautus, Aul. 154, occurs an instance without *modo*: *ut quidem emoriar prius quam ducam*. This expresses a strong wish; that it cannot be taken as subordinated to the preceding speech, *in rem hoc tuam est*, is indicated by the *quidem* which is correlative with the *sed* in the following sentence. These strong wishes are further marked by *utinam*, a strengthened *ut*. Pl. Epid. 196: *utinam conveniam Periphanem*. Ter. Hec. 536: *utinam scium*. This usage is found with all persons and numbers.

Ut was common with all the mandatory subjunctives, presumably because the imperative had largely preempted the fields

of command and the subjunctive had developed numerous subordinate uses before the days of Latin as we know it. Old laws seem to have had it: Ad Heren. II. 13. 19: *ut in ius eas, cum voceris*. And so Plautus, in Bacch. 739 and Curc. 130, uses *ut* with the second person singular as does Terence more frequently. For example, Ph. 212: *em, istuc serva; et verbum verbo, par pari ut respondeas*. Cato uses the subjunctive both with and without *ut*. In the first two chapters of the Res Rusticae he has: *uti eo introeas; uti bonum caelum habeat; sub radice montis siet, in meridiem spectet; uti bene aedificatum siet; quae supersint uti veneant; quae opus sint locato, locentur*. Plautus has *sese domo contineant, vitent infortunio* (Curc. 298) and also: *uti adserventur magna diligentia* (Capt. 115). There is a different tone due to the context in such instances as Pl. Aul. 785: *ut illum di immortales omnes deaeque quantum est perduint*. These occur without the *ut*, as in Pl. Asin. 467 etc. It should also be noted that the form *Qui illum di omnes perduint* (Ter. Ph. 123, Pl. Men. 451, etc.) occurs, the *qui* being regularly interpreted as an instrumental or ablative and equivalent to *modo*, which is added to *ut* in Ter. Ph. 711: *ut modo fiant*.

The injunction contained in the subjunctive may be strengthened by the interjection of imperatives or other reinforcing phrases and this leads to the same development that has been noted with exclamations and questions. The line between independent and dependent clause is approached as the defining phrase becomes more and more dominant. In Asin. 755, Plautus uses the imperative *vide* to strengthen a subjunctive of command without *ut*: *Adde, et scribas vide plane et probe*. This is more common with *ut*, as, for example, Ter. And. 735: *ut subservias, vide*, and still more frequent is the injection of *vide* into a negative injunction. Ter. And. 712 shows the imperative *fac* used in the same way: *fac ut venias*. This usage is very familiar and the instances in early Latin are completely collected by Bennett. For the present, the important thing to be noted is that the supporting imperative seems at first to have been simply injected into the clause to give further urgency. Other phrases were used in the same way. Cato, R. R. II. 5: *quae reliqua opera sint curare uti perficiantur*. Lucret. III. 470: *fateare necesse est*. Cato, R. R. I. 1: *sic in animo habeto, uti ne cupide emas*. Cato, R. R. V. 4: *opus rusticum omne curet*

uti sciat facere. Petron. 71: *erit mihi curae ut caveam.* Thoroughly familiar are the instances of jussive subjunctives with a verb of will, request, command, and so on, interjected. These however should not be overlooked at this point. *Uxorem ducas volo*, and *ut facias volo*; *rem cognoscas postulo*, and *postulo ut fiat*; *iube in urbem veniat*; *ut sistas suadeo*; these are all of the greatest significance in a study of the development of these independent *ut* clauses.

These last examples indicate the transition to subordination. The usage will be more extensively discussed and illustrated later in the chapter on *ut* clauses after various verbs, such as *dico*, *volo*, *iubeo*. One further type, however, should be noted at once. That is the insertion of the interrogation *potine* (also *potin es*) into sentences with the second person jussive subjunctive. This occurs only twice without *ut* but the fact that it occurs at all is significant. With *ut* it is not uncommon. Pl. Poen. 916: *potin ut taceas*. Pl. Truc. 897: *potine ut mihi molestus ne sies*. Pl. Amph. 903: *potin ut apstineas manum*. Ter. Adel. 539: *potine ut desinas*. The tendency toward subordination is obvious. One avenue leading to the indirect question seems to have been this insertion of an interrogation into a jussive clause.

III. *Ut* WITH INTERJECTED CLAUSES.

The second large group of *ut* clauses which fall naturally together are those which are interjected parenthetically into otherwise complete sentences. It is this syntactical and logical completeness of the sentences into which they are thrust that gives to the interjected *ut* clauses a certain community of characteristic. They are non-essential. This does not of course mean that they add nothing to the sentence as a whole but that they could be withdrawn without rendering the sentence incomplete. It would mean something less or something different, but it would nevertheless be a complete sentence leaving no impression of having been cut off in the middle.

It is perfectly obvious that such a classification is not susceptible of rigid application. There will be no clear-cut line absolutely definable between essential and non-essential *ut* clauses. Such sharp division lines occur as rarely in language as in race. There will always be many border line cases in which it will be very hard to determine whether a clause is essential or not,

and it will not be really important to make that determination. The important thing is to observe the instances and if possible to determine what elements tend to produce this condition of being or not being essential. The border-line cases are usually the most important. There are enough clear cases to define the group of non-essential injected clauses.

It is to be expected that the interjected *ut* clauses will bear various relations (logically) to the sentences in which they occur. This is of course true of parentheses in general. A parenthesis contains a comment or an explanation or some other thought with regard to the sentence which the speaker has not worked into the syntactical thread of the sentence. It is a remark from without which, however, is important enough in the mind of the speaker to be thrown in regardless of the sentence structure. Conceivably, there was once a period when tone and tendency were given to the majority of sentences by an independent phrase, but this is mere hypothesis. The actual fact is that in the historical language there are many examples of tone parentheses and explanatory parentheses, by no means confined to *ut* clauses, which not infrequently developed into main clauses and thrust the original sentence into a syntactically subordinate position.

Various bases of classification are possible with these parenthetical *ut* clauses. They might be arranged according to the person and number of the verb or according to the tense; or the presence or absence of supplementary adverbs or adverbial phrases might be made the basis for classification; or indicative clauses and subjunctives might be separately considered. Perhaps the most obvious criterion is the most valuable, the type of verb used in the *ut* clause. The other differences will be noted also throughout but the clauses as a whole will be divided according to the kind of verb used with the *ut*.

The first distinct group is that in which *opinor* or a similar verb of thinking is used. Such a verb when it occurs, as it usually does, in the first person singular, present tense, serves to fix the tone of the statement made in the main sentence. It shades the positive assertion to a certain degree and is in the nature of a comment by the speaker himself upon his own statement. The verb is in the indicative. Pl. Aul. 619: *Atque*

hic pater est, ut ego opinor, huius erus quam amat meus. Pl. Men. 661: *Ex re tua, ut opinor, feceris.* Auct. ad Heren. III. 1. 1.: *quem, ut arbitror, tibi librum celeriter absolutum mittemus.* Nep. De Reg. 1. 2: *excellentissimi fuerunt, ut nos iudicamus, Persarum Cyrus et Darius.* Cic. In M. Ant. VIII. 10. 28: *sed, ut suspicor, terror erat quidam.*

It is to be noted that the *ut* is not necessary in these clauses. Tac. Dial. 37. 7: *Non, opinor, Demosthenem inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit.* Cicero has *non*, *puto*, *reputabis* (Ad Fam. V. 9. 1.) and *credo* is more commonly used without *ut* than with it; e. g. Pl. Ep. 34: *Mulciber, credo, arma fecit.* There is no essential difference when the tone of urgency is increased by turning the *credo* into the imperative and urging belief instead of stating it: Sen. Ad Polyb. 9. 9: *Est, mihi crede, magna felicitas in ipsa necessitate moriendi.*

An instance in Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 23. 1, shows the verb in the perfect but it is obviously a continuing perfect and includes the present moment: *hominem, ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum.*

A second group of verbs is closely akin to the first but different in the tone which is given to the main sentence. This group consists of verbs of perceiving, knowing, understanding, etc. Pl. Capt. 585: *Atque, ut perspicio, profecto iam aliquid pugnae dedit.* Ter. Ph. 483: *nam eius per unam, ut audio, aut vivam aut moriar sententiam.* Cic. Pro Mil. 24. 66: *Verum, ut intellego, cavebat magis Pompeius quam timebat.* Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 5. 3: *verum, ut video, licebit.* These clauses are paralleled with similar ones without *ut* and not infrequently with relatives. Pl. Amph. 437: *iniurato scio plus credet mihi quam iurato tibi.* Cic. Ad Fam. I. 4. 1: *Senatus haberi ante K. Februarias per legem Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest.*

The same idea may be expressed in a somewhat less direct phrase without changing the effect. It is slightly more essential for *ut* to be used than it was with a simple verb, as is clear from the following examples. It is not, however, absolutely essential. Pl. Amph. 333: *Hinc enim mihi dextera vox auris, ut videtur, verberat.* Pl. Rud. 149: *ut mea opinio propter viam illi sunt vocati ad prandium.* Cic. Rep. I. 46. 70: *cumulate munus hoc, ut opinio mea fert, effecero.*

The expansion of the phrase however has one important

bearing. As more and more detail is put into the *ut* clause, it shows less of the simple tone quality and takes on more of an explanatory force, due apparently to the additional elements introduced. There is little difference between the cases already cited and such an instance as Pl. Capt. 569: *Pol, ego ut rem video, tu inventus, vera vanitudine qui convincas*. Nor is the difference marked in Ter. Heaut. 868: *ne tu propediem, ut istam rem video, istius obsaturabere*. But a new element is introduced in Cic. Pro Rosc. Am. 17. 49: *ut ex propinquis eius audio, non tu in isto artificio callidior es, quam hic in suo*. The following indicate the extension of the usage along this line. Pl. Amph. 669: *commodum adveni domum decumo post mense, ut rationem te dictare intellego*. Pl. Men. 952: *quot sunt satis?:: proinde ut insanire video, quattuor, nihilo minus*. Ter. Heaut. 417: *item ut filium meum amico atque aequali suo video inseruire et socium esse in negotiis, nos quoque senes est aequom senibus obsequi*. These instances really pass the line between this group of *ut* clauses and a subsequent one.

Equally noteworthy are the few instances in which *ita ut* is used instead of the simple *ut*. Ter. Adel. 893: *nam is mihi profectost servos spectatus satis quoi dominus curaest, ita uti tibi sensi, Geta*. Ter. Heaut. 295: *si haec sunt, Clinia, vera, ita uti credo, quis te est fortunatior?* There is practically nothing of the tone element left in this latter instance and one real element of difference is the *ita*. On the other hand, there are other influences at work in this instance, chief among them being the fact that the *ut* clause is injected into the *if* clause of a conditional sentence and that the personal tone shading is thereby prevented.

To return to the genuine cases of *ut* clauses interjected simply to give tone it should be noted in passing that the shift to the past tense seems to make no essential difference in the usage. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 24. 2: *discessit a me, ut mi videbatur, iratior*. Cic. Pro Mur. 31: 66: *tamen asperior non est factus, sed (ut accepi a senibus) lenissimus*.

A shift of person does introduce a change although not one that is really essential in kind. When the interjected verb is in the second or third person the actual *thought* is that of another than the speaker but it is still *his* tone or explanation that is injected. A few examples will make this clear. Pl.

Rud. 3: *Ita sum, ut videtis, splendens stella candida.* Caes. B. G. I. 4. 4: *neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.* Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 23. 4: *quod is utitur, ut scis, familiariter Cassio.* Cic. Pro Rosc. Am. 51. 149: *fori iudiciiue rationem M. Messala, ut videtis, iudices suscepit.* Livy, X. 46. 16: *fugerat in legatione, ut fama ferebat, populi iudicium.* Tac. Ann. IV. 71. 4: *nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat.*

We come next to a different type of verb used with *ut* in these non-essential interjected clauses. Once more there is a decided difference given in tone by the interjected verbs of wishing or hoping. There is not however any real difference produced in the kind of clause, at least so long as the first person is used. Nepos. Att. 21. 5 is a typical case: *quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci.* Others are Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 3. 6: *brevi tempore te, ut spero, videbo.* Pl. Amph. 235: *Denique, ut volumus, nostra superat manus.* This is apparently a very rare usage. *Spero* is about the only verb used even a few times and *spero* is about as frequently used alone or with an adverbial phrase as with *ut*. Cic. Ad Att. VII. 2. 6: *sed, ut spero, valebis.* Pl. Asin. 917: *Argyrippus exorari, spero, poterit,* Cic. Ad Fam. I. 2. 4: *Nos in senatu, quem ad modum spero, dignitatem nostram . . . retinebimus.*

Unlike the first person cases of the verbs of hoping and wishing, the instances with second and third persons are fairly numerous. But in these the commenting tone tends to disappear. The *ut* clause becomes more essential to the whole sentence, sometimes completing an actual incompleteness of sense there. We are here on the border line of another type. These second and third persons of verbs of hoping and wishing cannot be, because of their meaning, used to give simply a shade of conviction or doubt to the assertion in the main clause. Occasionally they approach it closely as in Cic. Pro Lig. 4. 10: *meliolem quam tu aut, ut tu vis, parem.* But ordinarily they add fact rather than tone, the *ut* is no longer dispensable as in the others and the clause itself ceases to be parenthetical. Pl. Truc. 891: *sine eumpse adire, ut cupit, ad me.* Pl. Aul. 183: *rectene atque ut vis vales?* Pl. Cas. 405: *age, ut vis.* Pl. Men. 1152: *frater faciam ut tu voles.* Ter. Hec. 764: *nostra utere amicitia, ut voles.* Terence has *ita ut* in Ph. 169: *quod habes, ita ut*

voluisti, uxorem sine mala fama palam, which is only one step removed from such a case as Pl. Cist. 48, in which the *ita* appears in the main sentence, anticipating the *ut* clause and making it entirely essential: *nam si quidem ita eris ut volo numquam hac aetate fies*. In many of these instances there is an element of repetition in the *ut* clause which tends further to tie it up with what has preceded.

The next group of verbs is that which comprises all sorts of verbs of saying or asking. They also give tone to the main statement or question but in still a different way. They do it either by marking the main sentence as a reiteration of something already said by the speaker or by shifting the responsibility for it to someone else.

In the first person these verbs regularly appear in the past tenses. This is to be expected from their meaning for if the speaker is calling attention to the fact that his present statement is to some extent a repetition of what he has said before, the tone word is practically forced to be in the past tense. Ter. And. 418: *Hodie uxorem ducas, ut dixi, volo*. Tac. Ann. XII. 10. 1 *per idem tempus legati Parthorum ad expetendum, ut retuli, Meherdaten missi senatum ingrediuntur*. Cic. In Caecil. 5. 19: *si universa, ut dixi, provincia loqui posset*. Nep. Att. 10. 2: *cui ut ostendimus paulo ante opem tulerat*. Cato, R. R. Introd. 3: *verum, ut supra dixi, periculosum et calamitosum*. Pl. Rud. 1104: *Hasce ambas, ut dudum dixi, ita esse oportet liberas*. Ad Heren. I. 11. 18: *constitutiones itaque, ut ante diximus, tres sunt*. Pl. Capt. 17: *Fugitivus ille, ut dixeram ante, huius patri domo quem profugiens dominum abstulerat vendidit*.

In the second person all tenses are used but there is the same shift toward an explanatory type due partly to the element of repetition. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 27. 2: *quae tu ad me, ut ais, detulisti*. Cic. Pro Planc. 10. 25: *de aliquo, ut dicis, non impetravit*. Cic. In M. Ant. II. 14. 35: *quamquam illud quidem fuit, ut tute dicebas, omnibus bono, etc.*

The tone characteristic is more prominent again in the third person instances in the present tense, which primarily transfer the authority for the statement to someone else than the speaker. But in the instances with past tenses and especially in those with the pluperfect the explanatory element is more prominent than the tone. Cic. De Amic. 5. 19: *Agamus igitur pingui, ut*

aiunt, *Minerva*. Nep. Them. 1. 4: *quod et de instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissime iudicabat*. Sen. Ben. III. 22. 1: *servus, ut placet Chrysippo, perpetuus mercenarius est*. Cic. Pro Mil. 9. 25: *contulit se . . . tota ut comitia suis, ut dictitabat, umeris sustineret*. Nep. Alc. 4. 6: *Ibi, ut ipse praedicare consuerat, non adversus patriam, sed inimicos suos bellum gessit*. Nep. Att. 22. 4: *Elatum est in lecticula, ut ipse praescripserat, sine ulla pompa funeris*.

The use of *inquis*, *inquit*, *dixi*, etc., in reporting direct conversation indicates the purely tone use of these verbs of saying, which is paralleled sometimes by *ut* clauses, sometimes (as in Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 31, 2) by *quem ad modum scribis*, or again (Cic. Ad Fam. VII, 25, 2) by *quod aiunt*. This usage, due to the incompleteness of the interjected verb, developed the indirect discourse constructions.

It is time to stop and summarize the clauses that I have thus far called parenthetical. The group, with all of its internal variations and its tendencies to develop beyond the limits prescribed, shows consistently certain definite characteristics.

First, the *ut* clause is never essential to the sentence into which it is interjected; the main sentence is logically and syntactically complete without it.

Second, the verb of the *ut* clause is in every case logically incomplete without the assumption of some element from the main sentence. This element the *ut* often seems to gather up and represent. Ordinarily it is an object that is required. All of the verbs appearing in these clauses are transitive verbs which, as used in the cases observed need either an object or an object clause to satisfy their meaning. (An obvious exception exists in the use of impersonals with which of course it is a subject clause that is required.) *Video*, *spero*, and the rest might be used absolutely but unless the context definitely indicates that they are so used, an object or object clause is instinctively expected. This may be and often is supplied by understanding with the verb a single word from the main sentence, but this is rarely the case to the exclusion of the possibility of taking the whole sentence as the implied object. This I think is significant for an understanding of the avenue opened here toward subordination.

Third, the *ut* clauses give to the main sentences into which

they are thrust a certain modifying tone but do not primarily add new facts. This is patently true of such clauses as *ut puto*, *ut spero*, less obvious as the verbs are less clearly verbs of the thinking, hoping, judging group.

Fourth, shifts in person and tense and the addition of new items to the *ut* clause all tend to modify the commenting function. There is a general tendency toward an explanatory function as more and more is added to the *ut* clause, especially when the element of repetition binds the *ut* clause to something that has preceded. Possibly the following series will indicate the intrusion of the new element. *Ut puto, ego ut rem video, ut rationem te dictare intellego, ut insanire video.*

Before leaving this type of clause a small group of cases should be included in which the verb is in the subjunctive. These are of two sorts, first, verbs of saying in the first person, in which the will notion shades toward that of simple futurity, and second, verbs of knowing in the second person, purely mandatory and more closely resembling the clauses with the indicative.

The first person subjunctive instances are different in one essential from the indicative cases: there is usually no essential incompleteness in the *ut* clause. The verb is used absolutely and this is made perfectly clear by the regular use of an adverb defining the use, for example, *ut vere dicam*. The group is narrow in its function. Pl. As. 843: *atque ego quidem hercle, ut verum tibi dicam, pater, ea res me male habet.* Cic. In Verr. II. V. 69. 177: *reliquum iudicium de iudicibus, et vere ut dicam, de te futurum est.* Cic. Pro Mur. 40. 87: *Murena, si nemini, ut levissime dicam, odio fuit etc.*

The parallel instances without *ut* express perhaps more futurity than will, the exact tone of the commenting parenthesis being given by the limiting words. Cic. Pro Quinct. 13. 44: *iam tu potes liberatus discedere molestia, prope dicam, non minore quam Quinctius.* Cic. In Cat. I. 4. 8: *Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios (non agam obscure) in M. Laecae domum.* Compare with these Pliny, Epist. IV. 17. 6: *Adulescentulus eram, et iam mihi ab illo honor atque etiam (audebo dicere) reverentia ut aequali habebatur.*

When other verbs than *dico* are used in clauses of this type there seems to be a gradual extension of the parenthetical com-

ment in the direction of explanation. The change seems to come, as before, by means of additions which repeat either explicitly or by implication some element from the preceding context. Most frequently this repetition is implicit in the logical incompleteness of some word in the parenthesis, not the incompleteness of a verb requiring an object, but that of a comparative or a demonstrative which implies some sort of antecedent. A case of *dico* with a negative is of the same sort and illustrates the principle well: Cic. Pro Leg. Man. 15. 44: *Itaque, ut plura non dicam . . . ab eodem Cn. Pompeio . . . exempla sumantur*. A few other instances will be ample. Cic. Pro Rosc. Am. 31. 87: *quam sis audax, ut alia obliviscar, hinc omnes intellegere potuerunt, quod, etc.* Ter. Hec. 420: *nam alias ut mittam miseras, unam hanc vide*. Cic. Pro Lig. 7. 20: *Sed, ut omittam communem causam, veniamus ad nostram*.

Still more obvious is the extension of the usage in the direction of explanation in the following instances which introduce either a distinct repetition or a distinctly new idea not altogether in the nature of a tone phrase. Cato, R. R. Introd. 4: *Nunc, ut ad rem redeam, quod promisi institutum principium hoc erit*. Cic. Pro Planc. 27. 67: *Sed, ut redeam ad Plancium, numquam ex urbe auit, etc.* Ter. Hec. 135: *ut ad pauca redeam, uxorem deducit domum*. Cic. Pro Rosc. Am. 16. 46: *ecquid tibi videtur, ut ad fabulas veniamus, senex ille Caecilianus minoris facere filium rusticum?* Cic. In M. Ant. XIV. 14. 36: *Sed ut aliquando sententia complectar, ita censeo*. Pl. Most. 839: *omnino, ut te apsolvam, nullam pictam conspicio hic avem*.

In all of the subjunctive instances thus far considered there is a self sufficiency to the *ut* clause which was not there when the indicative was used. The relation between the main sentence and the *ut* clause is indicated by some element of repetition rather than by the element of incompleteness in the verb. This is not so true of the subjunctives in the second person. These are verbs of knowing; the subjunctive is mandatory, giving the proper tone to the main sentence, as does *crede mihi*. Pl. Capt. 426: *id ut scias, Jovem supremum testem laudo*. Pl. As. 234: *sed in leges meas dabo, ut scire possis, perpetuom annum hunc mihi uti serviat*. In this instance it is noticeable how the meaning of *possis*, added to the phrase, changes the tone: the mandatory notion is hard with the verb *posse* and the extension of

function is marked. Perhaps a better illustration is Pl. Cur. 715: *nunc adeo, ut tu scire possis, leno, meam sententiam*. Pl. Epid. 702 introduces an object for the *scias*, tying it up more obviously with the main clause but effecting no real change in the relation: *tui gnati amica, ut omnem rem scias*. This is little different from *ut hoc scias*. An actual addition is introduced however in Pl. Rud. 1367, and here we are again on the road to a different kind of parenthesis: *Immo hercle, ut scias gaudere me, mihi triobolum ob eam ne duis, condono te*.

The principle involved in these parenthetical *ut* clauses is one of far-reaching importance, for numerous types of subordination came into the language through the natural use of inserted phrases which later became the leading clauses of the sentence. (Cf. Morris, pp. 132 ff.) These parenthetical clauses are illuminating remnants of the earlier type of sentence connection. For this reason it seems particularly worth while to investigate further divergent types of parenthetical clauses with *ut*.

The first large group of interjected *ut* clauses had the common characteristic of being primarily comments by the speaker on the statement made in the main sentence. Various lines of extension were noted by which such clauses approached other types by means of added elements outside the verb and by virtue of the meaning of the verb itself. The remaining types no longer exist solely for the sake of giving certain tones or shades of meaning to the main sentence but they add to the fact content of the sentence as a whole. They are still non-essential, that is, the rest of the sentence is logically and syntactically a complete sentence without them, but they do contribute definite content and not merely a particular tone.

The group which comes nearest to the commenting type is that in which there is repetition, either explicit or implied, of a verb from the main sentence. The *ut* clause may contain an actual repetition of the verb of the sentence into which it is interjected, in which case it stresses the reality of a fact somewhat questioned in the main clause. This main clause is regularly therefore either conditional or concessive. Cic. De Fin. IV. 18. 51: *Si virtus digna est gloriatione, ut est*, etc. Cic. Ac. II. 22. 69: *quamvis fuerit acutus, ut fuit*, etc. Pl. Rud. 464: *sic volo te ferre honeste, ut ego fero, ut placeas mihi*. Cic. In M. Ant. II. 28. 68: *quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut*

es, tamen, etc. Cic. Pro Lig. 9. 26: *quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo, tamen*, etc.

The verb is often implied as the complement of some such verb as *coepe*. This verb in itself adds a new element of meaning which extends the function of the clause. Pl. Most. 527: *tu, ut occepisti, tantum quantum quis fuge*. Ter. Adel. 521: *nam hunc diem misere nimis cupio, ut coepe, perpetuum in laetitia degere*. Pl. Rud. 1093: *sine me, ut occepe, loqui*. Pl. Ep. 236: *quin tu, ut occepisti, loquere?* With such a verb as *pergere*, the main verb may not be expressed in either clause: Pl. Amph. 277: *Perge, nox, ut occepisti*. The verb may even be understood with an adverb: Tac. Ann. XIV. 27. 3: *Non enim, ut olim, universae legiones ducebantur*.

A colorless verb like *facio* may be used to effect the repetition and at the same time avoid monotony without changing the essential quality of the clause. Cic. In M. Ant. X. 9. 18: *quorum etiamsi amplecterer virtutem, ut facio, tamen*, etc. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 1. 5: *Tu modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustenta et tuere, ut facis, ut nostras villas obire . . . possis*. Auct. Ad Heren. II. 27. 44: *si sit usque in eo occupatus, ut multi faciunt, venenum datum, vitio non mediocri conflictetur*.

Finally, it should be noted that *ita* is sometimes added to the *ut* opening up another line of extension of great importance. Ter. And. 521: *tu tamen idem has nuptias perge facere, ita ut facis*. Ter. Eun. 18: *si perget laedere, ita ut facere instituit*. How easy was the development from this to a quite different construction may be readily seen from Pl. Amph. 1051: *neque me Iuppiter neque di omnes id prohibebunt, si volent, quin sic faciam uti constitui*.

It must not be overlooked that these instances all show a distinct difference from those like *ut spero* or *ut dico*. The *ut* is indispensable. It contains within itself an element which is essential and which forms the bond with the contiguous clause.

A second group of these parenthetical *ut* clauses are inserted to make a generalization from some word in the main sentence. Ter. Ph. 611: *multa advenienti, ut fit, nova hic?* Cic. Pro Planc. 6. 15: *nihil, ut plerumque evenit, praeter opinionem accidit*. Cic. Pro Mil. 10. 28: *paulisper dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat commoratus est*. Pl. Aul. 819: *iamne autem, ut soles, deludis?* The generalization may not be so wide as this but narrowed to

a definite field by limiting words, all of which make more clear the explanatory nature of the clauses. Pl. Capt. 24: *postquam belligerant Aetoli cum Aleis, ut fit in Bello, capitur alter filius*. Cic. Pro Lig. 9. 28: *quamquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito quin*, etc. Tac. Ann. XIII. 44. 5: *tum, ut adsolet in amore et ira, iurgia preces*, etc. Tac. Ann. II. 54. 5: *et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse*.

A shift to the pluperfect tense makes no essential difference in the clause. Tac. Ann. III. 74. 5: *nec, ut mos fuerat, acta aestate retrahit copias*. The only reason for noting such instances is the fact that a change to the pluperfect tense in the course of a narrative passage ordinarily marks an explanation.

A really essential difference arises when an adverb or other word logically incomplete as it stands is introduced into the first clause to anticipate the *ut* clause which then belongs to the essential type and no longer to this non-essential interjected type: Pl. Men. 906: *condigne autem haec meretrix fecit, ut mos est meretricius*.

Instead of generalizing some word of the main sentence, the parenthetical *ut* clause may limit some word. The tendency within this group is to refer to a noun rather than a verb. In the preceding group the tendency was rather the other way. In each, the reference may be, and frequently is, to the whole sentence.

Most commonly the limitation expressed in these clauses is a limitation in terms of quality, picking out a specific characteristic which explains the particular statement made in the main clause. These clauses regularly contain an adjective or descriptive noun and most commonly have the verb *esse* either expressed or clearly implied. Cic. In Verr. II. 1. 26. 65: *magnifice et ornate, ut erat in primis inter suos copiosus, convivium comparat*. Cic. Pro Mur. 25. 51: *atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit*. Tac. Ann. XV. 42. 4: *Nero tamen, ut erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno iuga conisus est*. Pliny, Epist. I. 20. 6: *Haec ille multaque alia quae a me in eandem sententiam solent dici, ut est in disputando inconprehensibilis et lubricus, ita eludit ut*, etc. As soon as the *ut* clause begins to refer to the whole sentence rather than to a single word, the effect is appreciably changed: a more general explanatory tone is produced. Pl. Merc. 410: *atque, ut nunc*

sunt maledicentes homines, uxori meae mihi obiectent, lenocinium facere. Tac. Ann. IV. 68. 5: *et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas.*

In these limiting clauses the *ut* is non-essential, the parenthesis might be interjected without it. On the other hand, the development has reached a point at which the omission of the *ut* would make the construction awkward.

Another rather narrowly confined group of limiting clauses are those which contain no adjective but in which the *ut* becomes essential, taking over the descriptive force. The noun which the *ut* clause limits is regularly vague or very general in its meaning. Furthermore, it is regularly the object of a verb of telling, knowing, finding out and the like. There is none of the explanatory tone in these instances. Livy, III. 50. 4: *cuncta ut gesta erant exposuit.* Sall. Jug. 71. 5: *rem omnem uti acta erat cognovit.* Pl. Men. 679: *uxor rescivit rem omnem, ut factum est ordine.* Pl. Amph. 1129: *simul hanc rem ut facta est eloquar.* The subjunctive is occasionally used in the place of the indicative. Cic. Pro Tull. 13: *nunc rem ipsam, ut gesta sit, dum breviter vobis demonstro, attendite.* The influence of the imperative may have had an effect in this case but the indirect question in the subjunctive had become regular and familiar. This particular parenthetical usage shows some of the steps that clauses passed through during the development of the subjunctive indirect question. Note the following series: 1.) Pl. Amph. 1129: *rem ut facta est eloquar.* 2.) Pl. Amph. 1042: *res ut facta est eloquar.* 3.) Ter. Adel. 513: *ut res gesta est narrabo.* 4.) Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc. 5. 14: *res quem ad modum gesta sit vobis exponemus.*

Further classification of the parenthetical clause is difficult without introducing too much of the subjective element. In general these clauses offer an explanation of some element of the main sentence. The *ut* is non-essential. The verbs are most frequently verbs signifying propriety, obligation, necessity, custom. They approach therefore closely to the tone parentheses but, rather than giving to the main sentence the proper shading for its statement, they furnish an explanation of it. It should be noted that many of these verbs are, under other circumstances interjected without the *ut*. For example, *decet*, *necesse est*, or *aequum est*, inserted into a jussive or hortatory clause opened

the way to one kind of subordination just as the insertion of the tone words, *spero*, *volo*, etc. did to another. The present clauses, however, with *ut* are different in just this respect—they do not dominate the sentence by setting the tone. They are always an explanation and remain secondary in importance. It is interesting to speculate on this difference. *Eas*, *aequum est* came to be looked on as a subordinate clause plus a main clause and instead of two sentences, *ut eas* and *aequum est*, there came to be one, *aequum est ut eas*. But *eo*, *aequum est* did not have a similar development. The statement retained its original force and the explanation was altered by various additions. In the one case the important emphasis was on the tone word, in the other, on the explanation.

In all of the instances at present under discussion the *ut* represents the object or subject of the verb as the case may be, as it did with *spero*, *volo*, etc.

Aequum est is one of the most frequently used verbs in these explanatory clauses. Pl. Asin. 836: *pol ego utrumque facio, ut aequum est filium*. The explanation is very likely to be expanded and made more explicit. Pl. Rud. 47: *Is leno, ut se aequum est, flocci non fecit fidem*. Plautus has also *ut pudentem gnatum aequomst patrem* (Asin. 82); *ut aequom est germanam sororem* (Aul. 121), *ut piscatorem aequomst* (Rud. 312), etc. The tense of the verb seems to play no part. *Ita ut* instead of *ut* is common.

Decet is nearly as frequent as *aequum est* and has the same range except that it occurs less often alone without modifiers. *Ut decet* is rare, but *ut pudicam decet*, *diligentem ut uxorem decet* and the like are common. Also *oportet*, *meritum esse*, *par esse*, *dignum esse* are used in the same way.

Necesse est introduces a slightly new tone but no essential difference. Pliny, Epist. I. 20. 8: *ne dubitare possimus quae per plures dies, ut necesse erat, latius dixerit*, etc. Sall. Jug. 14. 15: *pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit*. Not dissimilar is the use of *debeo*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 2. 2: *Tuum negotium agam, sicuti debeo, diligenter*. Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 32. 1: *Quod sine praeenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistulam misisti*, etc.

Finally, *ut solet* is frequent in a variety of forms. Cic. Pro Clu. 59. 161, exhibits the most familiar: *cum quaedam in calli-*

bus, ut solet, controversia pastorum esset orta. It verges more on a somewhat different usage when the verb is used personally. Compare with the foregoing, Cic. Ad Fam. VII. 11. 3: *sed de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, iocor.*

One or two further instances of the explanatory parenthesis will show the extent to which it could be enlarged in scope without affecting the fundamental characteristics. Ter. Ph. 636: *nam sat scio si tu aliquam partem aequi bonique dixeris, ut est ille bonus vir, tria non commutabis verba hodie inter vos.* Livy, III. 71. 5: *tribuni, ut fere semper reguntur a multitudine magis quam regunt, dedere plebi,* etc. The line to a different construction, in which the *ut* clause is no longer explanatory but illustrative, is seen in Nep. Eum. 8. 2: *non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri.* Another line of development toward a parallelism of clauses is clear from Nep. Att. 1. 2: *Hic, prout ipse amabat litteras, omnibus doctrinis . . . filium erudivit.* To follow these out would be to anticipate the next chapter.

(To be continued.)

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THE PERSIANS OF TIMOTHEUS.

A recent dissertation on the Persians of Timotheus by Kurt Aron (Greifswald 1920, Druck von Julius Abel), placed in my hands by Professor Gildersleeve for review, may serve to renew interest in this remarkable poem. The value of the dissertation consists in a review of Wilamowitz' *editio princeps* (cf. A. J. P. XXIV, pp. 222 f.) in the light of various criticisms that have appeared since its publication in 1903. Aron cites as his sources Sitzler, *Burs. Jahresb.* Bd. 133 (1907), pp. 245 f., Bd. 178 (1919), pp. 99 f., and most of the articles there cited, mainly of the year 1903. The list is long and difficult to digest; however, he has made some good selections of proposed readings and has contributed independent suggestions; he frequently defends Wilm.' text. In the course of my reviewing this dissertation it became apparent to me that not only must Aesch.' Persians and the history of Herodotus be recognized as a background of the poem; but, especially, that the plot was based on the messenger's report in Aesch.' Persians. In presenting my study of the plot I anticipate some of the results obtained in my review. I begin with a brief account of the papyrus and of certain historical details touching the poem and its production based on Wilamowitz and Aron.

The papyrus roll containing the Persians of Timotheus was found Feb. 1, 1902, at Abusir, Egypt, at the head of a sarcophagus, the contents of which, including the skeleton of a large Greek, the onetime owner, are now in the museum in Berlin, where they were exhibited in October 1902. Our papyrus roll had evidently been severed from a larger roll, whereby the beginning, of uncertain length, has been lost. The first column of the remainder, as a result of exposure, is much torn; only shreds of this, containing fragments of words, or single letters, could be recovered. The remaining five columns contain resp. 29, 27, 26, 26, 4 lines of unequal length, which Wilamowitz has arranged in 253 short verses: dimeters, trimeters, and in a few cases, tetrameters, "wie es die Grammatiker getan haben würden." The fact that the poet calls himself Timotheos (v. 241), and a citizen of Miletus (v. 246), and the defeat

of a Persian king is described, suffices to identify the poem as the 'Persians' of the famous Milesian Timotheus, from the lost beginning of which Plutarch has preserved three brief passages (Philopoemen 11 (from Polybius); de aud. poet. 16 p. 32 d.; and Agesilaus 14). Pausanias (VIII 50, 3) quotes the first of these three passages with the further information that the poem was a *nomos*. The extant part of the poem lacks all historical names pertaining to the battle of Salamis; but it is evident that Timotheus had this in mind, even though he described a normal sea-fight of his own time. The date 395 B. C. as a *terminus ante quem* is obtained from Plut. Agesil. 14, where we are told that the Ionians rejoiced to see the satraps doing homage to the modest Agesilaus, probably in the second year of his campaign: ὥστε πολλοῖς ἐπήμει τὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου λέγειν. Ἄρης τύραννος χρυσὸν δ' Ἑλλάς οὐ δέδουκεν. Aron concludes his discussion of the date as follows: "Somit spricht alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass erst nach dem Abfalle von Persien, genauer, nachdem die Spartaner auf Ioniens Hilferuf sich seiner wieder angenommen hatten, die 'Perser' komponiert sind, also in der Zeit von 399-396." That Timotheus anticipated the presence of Spartans in the audience, is shown by his mentioning them as critics in complimentary terms (v. 219-225); and that the Greek audience was mainly composed of members of the Ionic league of twelve cities is revealed in v. 246-248, where the poet says his birth-place, Miletus, was a member of the δωδεκατειχέος λαοῦ πρωτέος ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν (i. e. of Asiatic Greeks). Wilamowitz gave up his idea, that the Panionia at Mycale had been the occasion for which Timotheus composed this poem, as the twelve-city league had ceased to exist politically, and suggested Miletus as the place of its production (Sitzb. d. Berlin. Akad. 1906, Panionion p. 12 f.). Aron, however, advances plausible arguments to show that the poem was composed for the Ephesia celebrated at Ephesus, which was at this time the most prominent city. The Ionians naturally had hopes of renewing the Ionic league, hopes that were subsequently realized. Timotheus had already, c. 399 B. C., written a poem for the Ephesians in honor of Artemis (cf. Macrobius Sat. V 22, and Meineke *Analecta Alexand.* p. 225-229). We may then imagine that, at the time when the Ionians had hopes of casting off,

with Spartan aid, the Persian yoke, Timotheus sang his nomos before an appreciative audience "in dem altertümlichen Prachtgewand der Kitharoden, den Kranz auf dem Haupte" (Wilm.). The extant fragment contains the ὁμῳός (narrative) v. 1-214, and the σφραγίς (personal allusion) and ἐπίλογος v. 215-253.

That Timotheus' poem on the battle of Salamis, with its title 'Persians,' was suggested by the Persians of Aeschylus seems obvious, and scholars have noted the influence of the tragic poet, also that of Herodotus, in various passages; but I am not aware that any attempt has been made to trace this influence in the development of the plot. For the construction of a plot Herodotus' episodic history presents no striking order of events; Aeschylus, on the contrary, gives in the messenger's report (v. 408-428) a succinct outline of the battle, which is followed (v. 447-464) by the slaughter of the Persians on the island (Psyttaleia), and (v. 465-470) by the despair of Xerxes. This report evidently served Timotheus as a basis for constructing his plot. Instead, however, of giving details of slaughter, Timotheus has introduced at suitable points two episodes, in each of which, as typical examples, an Asiatic illustrates the state of affairs in a comic way; and another, in which a group of stranded Persians describe in chorus their desperate situation. These episodes take up more than twice the space devoted to the battle, and were clearly intended to constitute, together with the final scene dealing with Xerxes, the chief features of the poem, which he could render in song with mimetic skill.

His account of the battle (v. 1-31) is more elaborate than that of Aeschylus; it represents a typical sea-fight of Timotheus' time, in which, besides the smashing of oars and ramming of ships, use was made of falling weights (δελφίνες), and fire brands that terrified the enemy with their dire effects (cf. v. 192). Timotheus, following Aeschylus' example (v. 419-421), inserts a scene here (v. 32-34), not of wrecks etc., like that of Aeschylus, which he reserves for a later occasion; but a scene picturing the 'green-haired' sea reddened with blood. The Persians are still aggressive (cf. Aesch. ἀντίχεν v. 413), as shown in v. 35-39: πάντ' ἰωγᾶ (Sitzler) βοὰ δὲ συμμιγῆς κατεῖχεν. ὁμοῦ δὲ νάϊος στρατὸς βάρβαρος ἄμμιγα αὐτὶς ἀντεφέρειτ' ἐν ἰχθυοστεφέσι μαρμαροπτέροις κόλποισιν Ἀμφιτρίτας. The situation, however, is desperate,

which is illustrated by a long, comic episode of a Phrygian (Wilm.), a wealthy landlord, who has fallen overboard (v. 40-96); there were, of course, many such cases (cf. Aesch. v. 302 f.). This man like most Asiatics is not a swimmer (cf. Hdt. VIII. 89), hence he beats the water with his hands (v. 44), as he seeks a way out. The passage is mutilated; but, according to the emendation of Danielsson, a number of men appear clinging to the wreckage (v. 67/8): ἐσμ[ὸ]ς [ἄπ]ειρος . . . [ἄμ]φι να[ῖ]οις τρύ[φεσιν ἐ]λιχθείς. Our Phrygian landholder invokes the god of the sea, and, apparently, succeeds in gaining, at least temporarily, a point of vantage; not, however, without swallowing a lot of the unvintaged fluid (ἀφρώδης ἀβαχχίωτος ὄμβρος v. 72), which causes him to vomit. Nevertheless his spirit is still unsubdued. He 'grins defiance' (Gild.), and gives vent to his rage by threatening the sea with the wrath of his lord, v. 83-85: ἤδη θρασεῖα καὶ πάρος λάβρον αὐχένα ἔσχες ἐμ πέδαι καταξενχθεῖσα λινοδέτῳ τεόν (cf. Aesch. v. 67 f.: λινοδέσμῳ σχεδία πορθμὸν ἀμείψας Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἑλλάς πολυγομφὸν ὄδισμα ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντου). The Phrygian continues v. 86 f.: "my lord (ἐμὸς ἄναξ, ἐμός) will churn you with oars, and will close in your flowing fields (πεδία πλόιμα) with roving eyes (αὐγαῖς, i. e. of ships). This threat recalls Hdt. VII 35: καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή. He calls the sea a hateful thing of old (παλεομίσημα) and "the faithless minion of the breeze" (Gild.). The impotent rage of the Phrygian resembles the absurd fury of Xerxes (Hdt. VII 35). His imprecations are finally cut short by more vomiting, and Timotheus, leaving him to his fate, proceeds with an account of the flight, in which the Persian ships crash into one another, v. 99: ἄλλα δ(ὲ) ἄλλαν θραῦεν σύρτις (cf. Aesch. v. 410/11: κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεὼς κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἵθυνεν δόρυ). To illustrate the complete discomfiture of the enemy, Timotheus now makes use of Aeschylus' picture (v. 419-421) of wreckage and of lifeless bodies covering sea and shore. Moreover, instead of adding lamentations in general, with which Aeschylus' messenger closes his account of the battle (v. 426-428), Timotheus introduces here another episode, which tells how a group of stranded Asiatics, naked and cold, bewail their desperate situation, v. 109 f.: [οἱ] δ' ἐπ' ἀκταῖς ἐνάλοις ἤμενοι γυμνοπαγεῖς . . . θρηνώδει κατεῖχοντ' ὀδυρμῶι

κτλ. They call in their helplessness on the wooded vales of Mysia to save them (v. 115/6): ἰὼ Μύσσαι δειδροέθειραι πτυχαί. This is, perhaps, the earliest occurrence of the name Mysia as applied to the Troad (cf. Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. Alt. Geogr.* § 106). The passage is corrupt, but basing my interpretation on Wilm.' reading and Aron's dissertation, I see them uttering the vain wish that a chasm deeper than the sea had prevented their passage, where κατὰ πλόιμον Ἑλλαν their lord (whom they now complainingly call δεσπότης) built that bridge. They pray to their Μάτηρ οὐρεία as the only one that might bring them back by way of Ilium (cf. Hdt. VII 42: ὁ στρατὸς . . . ἦμε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν), if they could but embrace her knees. They call upon her to save them, for death by winds, by waves, by the sword of the enemy is imminent. Their lamentations end with an epic reminiscence v. 149-150: ἔνθα κείσομαι οἰκτρὸς ὀρνίθων ἔθνεσιν ὠμοβρῶσι θοινά. This chorus, as we might call it, is concluded with: τοιάδε ὀδυρόμενοι κατεδάκρυον. Instead of introducing now something corresponding to the slaughter on the island of Psyttaleia, Timotheus describes a comic scene (v. 152-173) representing a citizen of wealthy Celaenae (cf. Hdt. VII 26/27) in the clutches of a Greek, who, sword in hand, drags him by the hair. This danger had been foreshadowed in v. 141-143: ἐπεὶ με αὐτίκα λαιμοτόμῳ τις ἀποίσεται ἐνθάδε μήστορι σιδάρωι. The σιδαρόκωπος Ἑλλαν (v. 155) offers a contrast to the Persians with their ἀκινάκαι χρυσοῖ. Aeschylus reaches a tragic climax with the butchery on Psyttaleia; Timotheus leads us to the threshold of butchery, and then achieves a comic climax in letting the unfortunate man from Celaenae plead for his life in broken Ionic. He blames his presence on his δεσπότης, and avers that he will never come again (cf. Darius' advice in Aesch. v. 790 f.), but remain in future (his case is again typical) κεῖσε παρὰ Σάρδι, παρὰ Σοῦσα, Ἀγβάτανα ναίων (cf. Gild. on the comic use of παρὰ in A. J. P. XXIV 236). Aeschylus joins the two latter places in vv. 16 and 535, whereas Herodotus never does this; Ἀγβάτανα is not even mentioned beyond book III. The Celaenaeon concludes (v. 172/3): Ἀρτιμῆς, ἐμὸς μέγας θεός, παρ' Ἐφεσον φυλάξει, which would have an especial point, if Timotheus produced his Persians at Ephesus on the occasion of the Ephesia, which Aron makes probable. The earlier scenes emphasized the superiority of the Greek fleet, the last one the

superiority of the militant Greek, an idea that is forcibly expressed in the line quoted above from the lost beginning: Ἄρης τύραννος · χρυσὸν δ' Ἑλλὰς οὐ δέδοικεν (cf. Aesch. v. 1025 Ἰαόνων λαὸς οὐ φυγαίχμας). Aeschylus' messenger passes directly from the slaughter on Psyttaleia to the horror and despair produced in Xerxes. Timotheus could not appropriately make such a transition from the last comic scene, hence he describes how a panic seized the Persian army, which, together with Xerxes, had witnessed the rout of their fleet. They throw away their javelins, scratch their faces, tear their costly garments and prepare to make a hasty flight (v. 181-185): σύντονος δ(ἐ) ἀρμόζετο Ἀσιὰς οἰμωγὰ . πολυστόνοι κτύπει δὲ πᾶσα βασιλέως πανήγυρις φόβῳ, τὸ μέλλον εἰσορώμενοι πάθος. After all, the Persian wealth had merely served to equip a dress parade. Xerxes had before him virtually not a στρατός, but a πανήγυρις, which, indeed, had impressed him with its magnificence at the Hellespont (cf. Hdt. VII 45), but now (Tim. v. 186 f.): παλινπόρευτον ὡς ἐσεῖδε βασιλεὺς εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμώντα παμμυγῇ στρατόν, γονυπετῆς αἰκίζε σῶμα, φάτο δὲ κυμαίνων τύχαισιν "Ἴὼ κατασκαφαὶ δόμων (Aesch. Choeph. 50), σείριαι τε νᾶες Ἑλλανίδες κτλ." The shipwrecked seamen, and the man from Celaenae had placed the blame on their δεσπότης, just as Xerxes is blamed in Aesch. as θούριος (v. 718 and 754, cf. also v. 550 f.), and he himself says (Aesch. 931/3): γέννα, γὰρ τε πατρώα κακὸν ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν. But an evil destiny is also thought of; Atossa, the chorus and Xerxes put the blame on an evil δαίμων (cf. Aesch. vv. 345, 472, 515, 911, 921, 1005), and so Timotheus lets the king say (v. 201/2): ὦ βαρεῖα συμφορά, ἃ μ' ἐς Ἑλλάδα(α) ἤγαγες. He commands a hasty flight, but, with a concern for their treasures, like that of Darius (Aesch. v. 751/2), directs his men first to load their possessions on wagons and burn their tents, μηδὲ τις ἡμετέρου γένοιτ(ο) ὄνησις αὐτοῖσι πλούτου (v. 208/9)—his last words. It was essential for a dramatic conclusion that the battle of Salamis be represented as completely wrecking the expedition of Xerxes. Aeschylus throughout his play lets it stand out as final in its effects. Mardonius' attempt to retrieve their loss at Plataea is merely alluded to in the prophecy of Darius. Atossa in v. 728 tells Darius: ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθεις πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν. Timotheus' Persians is naturally in agreement with this. He closes his narrative (the ὀμφαλός) with a brief statement that the Greeks

erected *τρόπαια*, danced and sang a paean, after which the lyric poet, like the rhapsode of the Delian hymn, commends his song (the *σφραγίς* of the *nomos*). He defends his modern music against the criticism of conservative Spartans, and concludes with an invocation to Apollo for a blessing on the assembled Ionians, and particularly on the city in which they were assembled.

Review of Aron's dissertation,¹ which begins with Section 79-82. He rejects Wil.' interpretation of *γόμενοις ἐμπρίων* (v. 80) as meaning: *οἷον θηρίον ὁδὰξ ἐχόμενον τοῦ ἀντιστάντος*, in favor of Dan.' "mit den Zähnen knirschend" (cf. "grinning defiance," Gild.), and takes *μιμούμενος* in Sudh.' sense of *βοῶν ὥσπερ ἡ θάλαττα* (better: *συρίζων ὥσπερ* . . note the sigmas), but rejects Sudh.' *λυμεῶνα* as *λυμεῶνι* can easily be governed by *ἀπείλει* (= Wil.); further, instead of *θαλάσσαι* (Wil.), he changes the MS *θαλασας* to the vocative, which he thinks can hardly be called an emendation. Sudh. and Keil translate *κατακορής* (v. 79), 'satt' (i. e. of salt water); Aron renders it 'unmässig,' which he prefers to Jurenka's 'maszlos schwatzhaft'; both translations are in virtual agreement with Wil. p. 44 f.

Sect. 83-92. In v. 89 he defends Wil.' *νομάσιν αὐγαῖς* (MS, *νομμασιν*) against the generally preferred *νομάσι ναύ[τ]αις*, as this is grammatically objectionable (Keil). His defense, however, of Wil.' interpretation: *τὰ πλόιμα πεδία (τὸν κατὰ Σαλαμῖνα κόλπον) συμπεριλήψεται τῷ βλέμματι κατανεμόμενος*, is not convincing. Keil's identification of the *αὐγαί* with the *ὀφθαλμοί* of the ships does not seem too obscure, who cites Aesch. Suppl. 716: *καὶ πρῶρα πρόσθεν ὄμμασι βλέπονσ'* to which may be added Aesch. Pers. 559/60: *κνανώπιδες νᾶες*. The concrete suggestion of ships, provided with eyes, as illustrations abundantly show, corresponds with: *ἀναταράξει . . . πύκναισιν ὀριγόνουσιν* (v. 86-88). Aron defends the MS reading *παλεομίσημα* (v. 90), and discusses the changes of *αι* to *αε*, *η*, *ε*, and cites *παληοσεβής*, i. e. *τὰ παλαιὰ σεβόμενος* (Berl. Klassikertexte VI, p. 77, v. 3). He considers Wil.' paraphrase: *πάλαι σε μεμίσηκα* fairly good, but prefers "Scheusal von jeher." He rejects Wil.' interpretation of *ἀγκάλισμα κλυσιδρομάδος αὔρας* (v. 91/2), in a note that ap-

¹ Abbreviations: Dan. = Danielsson, Sudh. = Sudhaus, Wil. = Wilamowitz, Gild. = Gildersleeve, Aesch. = Aeschylus' Persians.

proves of Dan.' translation "Hätschelkind," "Liebling" and "das Spielzeug der launenhaften αὔρα." He overlooked Gild.' rendering: "faithless minion of the breeze," which Gild. justifies with ancient and modern illustrations.

Sect. 97-108. Aron follows Blass in objecting to Wil.' elimination of *βάρβαρος* in v. 98, which he thinks Wil. bracketed for metrical reasons. Yet these have weight; besides, *Πέρσης* defines *στρατός* here, as *βάρβαρος* does *νάιος στρατός* in v. 36 f. To add *βάρβαρος* in v. 98 is unnecessary and cumbersome. In the next line *σύρτις* is troublesome. Wil. paraphrases: *ἄλλα δ(ἐ) ἄλλαν θραῦεν σύρτις* with *ἄλλη δ' ἄλλην συνήρασσε φορά* and (p. 44) explains *σύρτις* as a *καταφορά νεῶν κατασυρομένων*, i. e. "Ein 'Strudel' von Schiffen, die in eine Richtung gerissen sind etc." This conception has met with opposition. Sudh. proposes for *σύρτις* 'wave'; Dan. and Sitzler *φθορά* (cf. Hesych. s. v.); Keil, 'Ruderreihe,' all of which Aron rejects, who supports Wil.' conception and translates: "Ein Dahinstürmen zerschmetterte das andere; however when he equates *σύρτις*, sc. *νεώς*, with *ναῦς συρομένη* he suggests a concrete meaning that may well have been current among Ionian sailors. Gild. in a marginal note to Wil.' text suggests the analogy of *ἔλκω* : *ὀλκάς* :: *σύρω* : *σύρτις* (cf. the English vehicle 'drag'). Such a *σύρτις* would appropriately be modified by *μακρανχενόπλους*, which Aron admits is possible, although he prefers to follow Wil. in letting it modify *ὀρείους πόδας ναός*. The passage reflects Aesch. v. 408 f.: *εἰθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νηϊ χαλκῆρῃ στόλον ἔπαισεν · ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ ναῦς, κάποθραίνει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεὼς κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἔθυνεν δόρυ*. Wil.' text in v. 105-108 reads: *κατάστερος δὲ πόντος, ἐγ λιποπνόης ψυχωστερέσιν ἐγάργαιρε σώμασιν, ἐβρίθοντο δ(ἐ) αἰόνες*, which he paraphrases: *ὁ δὲ πόντος ὥσπερ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῖς ἀστράσι ἀπεπνιγμένοις νεκροῖς ἐπλήθυνεν (ὦν τὰ σώματα ἐπιλιπόντος τοῦ πνεύματος (breath) τῆς ζωῆς ἐστέρητο) μεστὸς δ' ἦν ὁ αἰγιαλὸς αὐτῶν*. Timotheus is in essential agreement with Aesch. v. 420/1: *ναυαγίων πλήθουσα (i.e. θάλασσα) καὶ φόνου βροτῶν · ἄκται δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθυνον*. Aron rejects Wil.' *ψυχωστερέσιν* in favor of Blass' and Sudh.' convincing emendation of *λιπ. στερέσιν* (v. 106.) to *λινοστερέσιν*; but retaining *κατάστερος* (MS) and influenced by Wil.' paraphrase: *ἐπιλιπόντος τοῦ πνεύματος*, interprets *ἐγ λιποπνόης* as "das Material aus dem dieser Sternenhimmel besteht." Keil (Hermes 48. p. 111 f.) accepts *λινοστερέσιν*,

pointing out that *σώμασι* in the sense of 'corpses' needs no adj. here, and agrees with Sudh. and Fraccaroli in interpreting *ἐγ λιποπνόης* as a cessation of wind, and, emending *κατάστερος* to *κατάστ(ο)ρος* (which had already been suggested by C. W. E. Miller in A. J. P. 24 p. 228), explains the phrase to mean that the sea was calm following a lull in the wind, citing Hdt. VII 193: *ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο*. The cessation of the wind here, as in v. 70, marks a stage in the narrative.

Sect. 109-114. Aron thinks that Wil.' *οἱ* (v. 109) is certain as the *Q* at the beginning of line 18 col. III, which looks like the top of B, appears also in *ὀρείους* (l.c. line 15). Aron regards *ἄμα δὲ [γᾶν] πατρίαν ἐπανεκα[λ]έοντο* (v. 114/5) as a phalaecean (with resolutions) so as to let *ἰὼ Μύσται* (v. 115) begin a new verse, as the speeches do elsewhere (cf. 83, 162, 191). He objects, with Sitzler, to Wil.' change of *στερνοκτύπῳ* to *στερνοκτύποι*; but the latter's agreement with *γοηταί* produces a symmetrical arrangement of adjectives (Keil p. 115). As a rule the adjectives precede their nouns. Aron approves of Wil.' *[γ]όω[ι]*.

Sect. 115-150. He objects with Fraccaroli (cf. also Wil. p. 60) to Sudh.' assignment of the *ὄδῳμοί* to two nationalities; they are clearly all Asiatics. Wil. emends *νῦν* (v. 117) to *ἰν(α)* (= *ὄπον*) so as to read: *ῥύσασθέ μ' ἐνθένδε(ε), ἰν' ἀήταις φερόμεθ(α)*, and paraphrases: *ὄπον ὅπ' ἀνέμων φερόμεθα*. This may mean: "whither we are being, or have been, carried (driven) by the winds (cf. Soph. Oed. T. v. 798 *ἰκνοῦμαι τοῦσδε τοὺς χώρους*); but Aron (following Dan. and Sitzler) retains *νῦν*, and reads *ἐνθένδε νῦν ἀήταις φερόμεθα* which he interprets as a scattering of their remains by the winds. This meaning seems somewhat forced; moreover the destructive action of the wind is anticipated later (v. 144-146); besides, with his reading, he cannot in the next sentence: *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ποτ' ἀμὼν σῶμα δέξεται [κόν]ις*, take *γάρ* in its usual causal sense (cf. v. 120, 127, 146), he says it is "nur anknüpfend." He retains *κόνις* (Wil.); but Dan.' *πόλις*, or Fraccaroli's *πάτρις*, seems better. In v. 120-123 he adopts Jurenka's *κῆρ ἐγ γὰρ χερί*, which he follows with *πα[τ]ε[ρ] νυμφαῖόγονος* (MS final ν) *[ἐναλ]ον ἀντρον δ[λεσε δ(ε) ἦ] διάστα κάπε[τος πλοῖον]*; for *διάστα* he cites Soph. OC v. 1662. The *κῆρ* of the sea-fight, born in a cave of the nymphs, stalks ("dahinrast" Aron) upon the deep and the gaping abyss destroyed the ship. This reading is attractive, although his epithet

ἐναλον is not as effective as Wil.' ἄβατον or Keil's ἀπορον, which seem to him to contradict πατεῖ. On the other hand, if we retain Wil.' κ[ῡρ]εγ γὰρ χερὶ πα[λ]ε[ο]νυμφ(α)γόνον [ἄβατ]ον ἄντρον and understand, with Aron, a reference to the gulf of the sea, instead of to a nearby cave (Wil. p. 41, 2; 42, 1), we may see an allusion to Hesiod's Theog. v. 240 f.: Νηρῆος δ' ἐγένοντο μεγάρτα τέκνα θεάων πόντῳ ἐν ἀτρυγέτῳ. A Hesiodic reminiscence seems to occur at the end of the poem. If Timotheus had Soph. Antig. 980 f. in mind (Keil p. 120), then παλεονυμφαγόνον may also reflect Soph.' ἀρχαιογόνων. Dan. objects to the imperfect κῡρεν, for which, as he says, we might read κύρει. Either of the above restorations expresses the stranded Persians' dread of the sea from which they have just escaped, later (v. 142 f.) they fear the enemy's sword and the chilling winds.

In the following passage (v. 123-127), Aron, following Dan., lets them utter two hopeless wishes. The first one beginning εἴθ(ε) ὃ (MS εἴτεο) is plausible; not so the second: εἰ[θε μ]ῆ, for Wil.' εὐ[παγ]ῆ (MS, Col. III 25: ΕΥ . . . Η), which Keil (p. 121) considers "absolut sicher." Accordingly we must reject Dan.'-Aron's: μάχιμον πλόιμον Ἑλλαν(α) (v. 124/5) in favor of Wil.' μ' ἄχί μο[ι κ]α[τὰ] πλόιμον Ἑλλαν, which Dan. admits is plausible. Keil bases his emendation: βῆμά τε λεωπόρον (Wil. τηλετελεπόρον) on Aesch. Pers. 112, which he emends plausibly to read: λεπτοδόμοις πήγμασι (vulg. πείσμασι) λεωπόροις (Heimsoeth for λαοπόροις) τε μαχαναῖς. This passage together with Aesch. Pers. 71: πολύγομφον ὀδισμα, shows that Tim.' εὐπαγῆ στέγην and βῆμά τε λεωπόρον correspond to Aesch.' twofold description of the bridge. In favor of Wil.' τηλετελεπόρον (Dan. proposes ἡμτελεόπορον) one might cite Aesch. P. 748: πολλὴν κέλευθον ἦνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ. Aron would retain τηλετελεπόρον as a modifier of στέγην, which he alone takes to mean 'ship.' It is true the stranded Persians had not used the bridge; but it was the sine qua non of the expedition; moreover Xerxes did not build, but commandeered the ships. As regards Aron's objection to στέγην as a term for bridge we may cite Diod. III, 34: πῆγνυνται μὲν οἱ μέγιστοι ποταμοί, στέγοντος τοῦ κρυστάλλου διαβάσεις στρατοπέδων καὶ ἀμαξῶν καταγόμενων ἐφόδους. Combining emendations of Dan. Wil. and Keil, we may obtain an intelligible text: εἴθ' ὃ βαθυτέρον πόντοιο χ[άσμ]α ἄπεχέ (= ἀπέιχε) μ' ἄχί μοι κατὰ πλόιμον Ἑλλαν εὐπαγῆ στέγην ἔδειμε βῆμά τε λεωπόρον ἐμὸς δεσπότης.

Had a gulf deeper than the sea made it impossible to bridge the Hellespont they would never have left Tmolus and Sardis (v. 127/8). Herodotus (VII 37) tells us that they left Sardis in the Spring, when the bridge etc. had been completed. Tmolus and Sardis occur close together in Aesch. P. (v. 49 and 45). Aron accepts Dan.' objection to Wil.' change of Ἑλλανά τ' ἔρξων (v. 129) to Ἑλλαν' ἀπέρξων. Dan. p. 25 cites Krüger 56, 14, who shows that a conjunction may join participles of different meaning and form, hence λιπὼν . . . τ' ἔρξων is possible. In v. 132 f. Aron is probably right in assuming that the goddess invoked was the Magna Mater of the Asiatics, who is addressed as Artemis in v. 172. This latter name would be appropriate for the festival at Ephesus, the probable occasion for Tim.' song. The adj. μελαμπεταλοχίτωνα would be significant for Artemis, one of her epithets being Χιτώνη (cf. Robert-Preller, p. 314). But that she is called Λναία (v. 132 f.), as Aron tries to show, is unlikely. Passing over the numerous conjectures we obtain a simple meaning in this passage by following Dan. in accenting Ἰλιόπορος and taking λναία as a common noun (cf. ἀναγκαίη = ἀνάγκη), which Keil (p. 123) approves. Thus the question: πᾶ τις . . . εὗρη (v. 130/1) "auf welchem Wege soll Einer finden?" is answered: "Auf dem Ilion-Wege allein könnte mir Erlösung aus der Not zuteil werden" etc. This view is supported by Aesch. v. 508-11 and v. 796 f. Following Dan. (p. 33 f.) Aron rejects Wil.' emendation of (MS) ἀμφιβάλλον λίσσων to ἀμφέβαλλον . λῦσον, instead he would read ἀμφιβάλλειν . λίσσων, and, with Blass, lets λίσσων govern ἐμὸν αἰῶνα δυσέφευκτον. Wil. (p. 46. 1) gives εὐωλένους χεῖρας (v. 137) to the goddess, to which Dan. (p. 35) objects: "aber χεῖρας ἀμφι—περιβάλλειν (τινί—hier τοῖς γόνασι) ist allzu sehr eine feste Redensart, um an der vorliegenden Stelle eine andere Deutung zu gestatten. Übrigens wurden ja bei der betreffenden Bittgebärde nicht die Arme oder Hände, sondern die Kniee der Angerufenen umfasst." He thinks that the description of a man's arms as εὐωλένους is "eine wunderliche Blüte des poetischen Konventionalismus"; but this is to show the effeminacy of the Persians (cf. Xen. Hell. III 4, 19). Aron apparently acquiesces in Wil.' interpretation. Aron discusses the meaning of μήστορι (v. 143), rejects Dan.' interpretation, πολεμιστής (Hesych.), and decides that the sense is 'anschlägig,'

(Hesych. ἐπινοητικός), which is not as good as Wil.' ἔμπειρος (also Hesych.), and yet the distance of μῆστορι from λαιμοτόμῳ makes Wil.' interpretation "das Eisen . . ist Specialist für Halsabschneiden" doubtful (Dan.). Keil (p. 102-105) makes a plausible emendation ἀδήστορι 'dem gefräszigen Schwert,' the ΑΔ having been taken for Μ of the familiar word. Aron defends Wil.' interpretation of κατακυμοτακεῖς . . . αὔραι: αἱ αὔραι αἱ τὰ κύματα κατατήκουσαι (ὥστε τὸν ἀτμὸν τῆς θαλάττης τῷ ἀέρι συνεμφέρεισθαι). Dan. suggests κατακυμοτα(χ)εῖς = κλυσιδρομάδες (cf. v. 92), which is preferable. That Wil. is right in explaining γνίων εἶδος ὑφαντόν (v. 148) as the woven form of limbs, is made plausible by Aron, as being an allusion to the sleeves and trousers of the Persian clothing. Hence Sudh.' emendation ἔρκος and Dan.' εἶλος (= εἶλημα) are unnecessary.

Sect. v. 151-173. Several difficulties occur in v. 152-158: ἐπεὶ δέ τις λαβὼν ἄγοι πολυβότων Κελαινᾶν οἰκίτορ(α) ὀρφανὸν μαχᾶν σιδαρόκωπος Ἑλλαν, ἄγεγ κόμης ἐπισπάσας, ὃ δ' . . ἐλίσσεται. Aron (p. 12) accepts ἄγεγ (Diels), which explains the ἄγει of the MS better than a second ἄγοι, which Dan. suggests as a case of epanalepsis. Wil. paraphrases ὀρφανὸν μαχᾶν with ἀπόμαχον γενόμενον, which Aron approves. We should prefer Reinach's "unaccustomed to battles," which heightens the contrast between the inhabitant of wealthy Celaenae and the σιδαρόκωπος Ἑλλαν, whose iron-hilted sword reminds one of the ἀκινάκαι χρυσοὶ of the Persians (cf. Hdt. IX 80). For the meaning of σιδαρόκωπος compare Pollux X 145: κόπην χρυσόκολλον and χρυσολαβὲς καλὸν πάνν ἐγχειρίδιον. Aron translates: "Die Hand am Schwertgriff" (!). The phrase διάτορον σφραγίδα θραύων στόματος (v. 159/60) means according to Wil.: breaking the intelligible seal that the mouth presses upon language. Aron says that the σφραγὶς διάτορος is a seal that is pressed upon the mouth as upon a letter to identify the sender. Hence (p. 21/2) σφραγὶς should refer to the Phrygian language; but the poet forgets (!) this, so that it means: murdering the Greek language, which at other times is easily understood, but now like a broken seal is unintelligible. Aron continues confidently: "Zugunsten der hiermit festgestellten Bedeutung musz die Deutung von σφραγὶς als 'Verschluss' (Dan. Croiset) zurück treten. He argues this point, but overlooked Gild.' citation of Anth. P. 10, 42: ἀρρήτων ἐπέων γλώσση σφραγὶς ἐπικείμεθω * κρείσσω

γὰρ μύθων ἢ κτεάνων φυλακή. Gild. says: "The σφραγὶς στόματος would naturally mean 'silence,' which the barbarian breaks or crushes into penetrating utterance, διάτορον being used proleptically = ὥστε διάτορον εἶναι." Dan. cites the common phrase: ῥηγνύναι (ῥήξαι) φωνήν (viz. Hdt. 1, 85), and adds that Greek seals were not broken "sondern gelöst." Aron remarks on the inconsistency of saying that the Phrygian mixed his Greek with the Asiatic dialect, whereas he merely speaks broken Greek, and suggests that Timotheus wrote ἐμπλέκων (v. 158) under the influence of the preceding περιπλεκείς (v. 157); but the usual meaning of ἐμπλέκων is to entangle, so that 'Ελλάδ' ἐμπλέκων Ἀσιάδι φωνᾷ expresses the mental struggle to express himself in Greek, being hampered by his Phrygian habits of speech; hence the violent outburst and painful efforts to use the Ionic dialect (Ἰάονα γλωσσῶσαν ἐξιχνεύων). The barbaric Greek is exhibited in οὐδ' αὖ' ἔλθω (= οὐ μὴ ἔλθω), ἦξε (1st aor. rare), μαχέσαι (MS μαχέσαν, Wil. μάχεσθ'), ἔρχω, κάθω (καθεδοῦμαι). Gild. calls attention to the comic use of παρά: "The fun of παρά, by the way, does not lie in its use with the accusative, but with the use of it at all in connection with a certain class of words. In the spoken Greek of the time παρὰ Σάρδι is as bad as παρὰ Σοῦσα. Cf. Sobolewski, De praepositionum usu Aristophaneo, p. 85." Aron uses sixty-nine words in his vain effort to express the simple meaning of v. 162: ἐγὼ μοί σοι κῶς καὶ τί πρᾶγμ(α). Gild. suggests for ἐγὼ μοι a crasis of ἐγὼ εἰμι, a crasis that actually occurs in Herondas V 15 (cf. A. J. P. XXV, p. 230). Accordingly it appears that καί strengthens κῶς (cf. Kühner-Gerth II, p. 255), and, accenting καί τι, we may translate "How now am I of any concern to you?" This is meant as a vigorous negative, which the rest of the speech elaborates. The obscurity vanishes; the barbaric Greek following is clear enough.

Sect. 174-209. Wil. removes a metrical difficulty in v. 178 by changing ὄννξι to ὄννχι, Blass by reading πρόσωπ' ὄννξι, which latter Aron accepts. He approves of the asyndeton in v. 178-180: δρῦπτετο δὲ . . . ἔρεικον, which unites these words in contrast with the preceding ἔριπτον and the following ἀρμόζετο. In v. 186 καί is an unnecessary conjecture for ὁ δέ, which is not noted in Wil.' crit. apparatus, as Aron points out. He objects with Sitzler to the assumption of a lacuna after νᾶες δὲ (v. 195), which stands in antithesis to αἰ . . μὲν (v. 193); ἦλικά ἦβαν is

the common object of ὀλέσασθε and ἄξουσιν, but the object of φλέξει (v. 198/9) is to be supplied from νᾶες.

Sect. 210-214. Aron approves of Wil.' explanation of the catachrestic apposition of τέμενος to τρόπαια (p. 51), but objects to τρόπαιον in the paraphrase. "Der Dichter sieht eine Mehrzahl von Trophäen, der Raum, auf dem sie verteilt sind ist das τέμενος." Excepting κατασκαφαὶ δόμων (v. 191), a reminiscence of Aesch. Choeph. 50, there are no amplifying plurals in this poem; the following are all real plurals: κόλποισι in v. 39 (Wil. paraphr. κόλποι), πεδία πλόιμα (v. 89), αἰόνες (v. 108), μαχᾶν (v. 154), ἄνθεσι (v. 221). He justifies his view with an interesting discussion of the single and multiple erection of τρόπαια. Aron concludes this section with a refutation of Keil's metrical assumptions in v. 210-214, which verses Keil thinks constitute the division of the νόμος, known as the μετακατατροπά.

Section v. 215-253. Timotheus begins the sphragis with an appeal to Apollo, who favors the μουσαν νεοτευχῇ, to come to the defense of his poetry. For the Spartans disturb the peace of his mind in trying to place a stigma upon him, ὅτι παλαιότεραν νέοις ὕμνοις μουσαν ἀτιμῶ. This must mean that his modern songs were bringing the old style of music into disfavor. (So Plato Legg. 700 f. deplores the tendency of poets, to ignore the time-honored forms of composition in deference to popular taste.) Timotheus retorts: ἐγὼ δ(ἐ) οὔτε νέον τιν(ὰ) οὔτε γεραὸν οὔτ(ε) ἰσθήβαν εἶργω τῶνδ' ἐκὰς ὕμνων, τοὺς δὲ μουσοπαλαιολύμας, τούτους δ(ἐ) ἀπερύκω, λωβητῆρας αἰοιδᾶν κηρύκων λιγυμακροφώνων τείνοντας ἐνγᾶς. The words εἶργω and ἀπερύκω have been interpreted in various ways, yet the passage is clearly intended to deny that his modern style of song is driving off the field any singer, no matter of what age (and taste); but he makes one exception, which is directed against those of his critics, who, presumably, like old fogies, would have nothing but 'long meter' (cf. Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά), which they can sing at the top of their voices. The bawling κῆρυξ was proverbial (cf. Athenaeus II, p. 44a). Aron misses the point by assuming that the passage does not refer to the νέοι ὕμνοι. Timotheus concludes his defense with a eulogy of his songs. Orpheus originated this class of poetry, Terpander improved it, and now he (Timotheus) has perfected the instrumental music with his eleven-stringed lyre, and enriched his songs by opening the treasury of the Muses. Wil. interprets

Σπάρτας (v. 220) as an obj. gen. after ἀγεμών, so that the phrase designates the old aristocratic Spartans. Aron argues plausibly in favor of Reinach's ἀγεμών (τῆς Ἑλλάδος); but his assumption that Σπάρτας is an appositional gen. seems doubtful; Mazon more simply regards μέγας ἀγεμών as an apposition to λαὸς Σπάρτας. Careless copying of v. 234-6 has made some emendation necessary: πρῶτος ποικιλομουσοορίσυν ετεκνωσεν υἱὸς Καλλιόπα Πιερίας ἐν is emended by Wil. πρῶτος ποικιλόμουσον Ὀρφεὺς [χέλ]υν ἐτέκνωσεν υἱὸς Καλλιόπα[ς] Πιερίας ἔ[π]ι. Dan. more plausibly proposes: ποικιλομουσ-οαριστὺν, and renders "das bunte (tonreiche) Musengekose" (cf. Pind. Pyth. 1, 98. ὄαροι = cantus). The omission of Orpheus' name needs no defense, as he says. Using capitals, it seems more probable that ποικιλομου ΣΟΑΡΙΣΤΥΝ became ποικιλομου ΣΟΣΟΡΙΥΣΥΝ than the corruption of the familiar Ὀρφεὺς and a contraction of χέλυν (Wil.), or ὕμνου (Blass), to υν. In the following lines (237-8), Aron proposes: Τέρπανδρος δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε κατηῦξε μούσαν ἐν ᾠδαῖς, which seems better than Wil.' : ἐπὶ τῷ δέκα ζεῦξε μούσαν ἐν ᾠδαῖς, who tries to justify ten strings for Terpander's lyre in a long and interesting discussion. Aron's emendation is also preferable to Dan.' reading: Τέρπανδρος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ δέκα τεῦξε μούσαν ἐν ᾠδαῖς, who, following Mazon's and Blass's conjecture, based on Pollux 4, 65, would attribute ten kinds of νόμοι to Terpander, whereas the number seven is better attested (cf. Wil. p. 90, 1). Aron seems right in objecting to Blass's idea that Timotheus refers to hexameters and lyric measures with μέτροις and ῥυθμοῖς (v. 241-2), a distinction that appears much later. Lines 246-8 have been considered above (p. 318). Wil. changed the last word εὐνομίαν so as to read: εἰρήνην θάλλονσαν εὐνομίαι (approved by Keil), which Aron considers unnecessary as the accusative may be a case of asyndeton or apposition. Perhaps Timotheus had in mind Hesiod Theog. 902: Εὐνομήην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλύναν.

Timotheus does not appear as a great poet in his Persians, but we can understand how with his 'libretto' he could win applause from his Ionian audience, in which the Spartans, who were present, probably also joined.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

THE HELENA OF EURIPIDES.

EMENDATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS.

To transcribe with accuracy is not easy. Four of the best-known quatrains of Grey's *Elegy* were recently given to ten persons to copy, and each made a mistake, either in orthography, in punctuation, or in the use of a wrong word. The Greek and Latin inscriptions on the base of the New York obelisk were incorrectly read, and the error in the date led Mommsen to a false theory concerning the early Roman prefects of Egypt. Ruskin would copy a short Latin inscription with surprising inaccuracy. But the copyists of our Greek manuscripts must have been trained specialists. Nevertheless, there are mistakes, for the transmission through the centuries has been entrusted to many hands—too many to guarantee absolute perfection. To adhere strictly to the readings of the codices is to stultify one's self. On re-reading my manuscript of Aeschylus and Sophocles (which I had previously copied carefully in my own handwriting) I discover a few errors due to haplography, dittography, dropping out of a letter, etc.; and in Paley's "Second and Corrected Edition" I find this curious metathesis in *Hec.* 322: ἡσᾶσον θλῖαι (for ἡσσον ᾄθλῖαι), not to speak of the jumble Ἑλενουψχνᾶ in 87. If such mistakes can be made in these days of cheap paper, ample space, and repeated revisions of copy and proofs, to demand impeccability of Greek scribes century after century is to ask for more than human frailty can perform, to say nothing of the damage to the manuscripts from scaling, blots, and other sources. But we should be sure that we have exhausted interpretation before we resort to emendation, should discriminate between the verses that have been preserved intact and those that have suffered corruption. The latter fall chiefly into two categories: those that are not Greek and those that are logically absurd; and in emending these passages we should adopt Pasteur's method of investigation—exhaust every combination which it is possible for the mind of man to conceive.

Verse 122.

It is easy to conjecture, difficult to emend, and even more difficult sometimes to interpret. After considering carefully

the multitude of "corrections" (including many conjectures of my own, and Shackleton's ἀ νῦν σ' ὄρᾳ, *C. R.* XXXV, 163) I have come to the conclusion that the text may be sound. So Murray: "sanum videtur." But Murray's interpretation is, I think, incorrect: "Nam ipse vidi, et in visu operatur intellectus." This implies that Euripides is making a general statement of a psychological fact, whereas it is the dramatist, not the philosopher, who is speaking. While it is true that νοῦς ὄρᾳ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει (Epicharm. ap. Plut. 2. 961 A), here at least it is the mind of Teucer that saw. The aorist εἶδόμεν pairs off with the present ὄρᾳ, and ὅσσοις with νοῦς, that is, ὅσσοις εἶδόμεν καὶ νῶ εἶδον.

Dobree's (and Nauck's) ὡς νῦν σ' ὄρῳ is more than improbable, both logically and palaeographically. A scribe would be more likely to change νοῦς ὄρᾳ to νῦν σ' ὄρῳ than the reverse, because verse 118 might still be lingering in his mind. Hermann reads αὐτῶς. But αὐτός is exactly what we want,¹ since Teucer is answering Helen's οὕτω δοκεῖτε τὴν δόκησιν ἀσφαλῆ. He had just said ὥσπερ σέ γ' . . . ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρῳ. Here he reiterates the thought emphatically and adds: καὶ νοῦς ὄρᾳ, which, whatever it was meant to mean, certainly is not an insipid repetition of verse 118, such as Dobree's conjecture gives.

But there is one consideration that should bid us pause before accepting the text *exactly* as it stands: Euripides does not use the middle εἶδόμεν. This form he reserves for lyrical passages (*I. A.* 218, 254, 295). Aeschylus has εἶδόμεν in *Pers.* 179, ἴδουτο in *Suppl.* 359, and ἴδεσθε frequently. But Euripides, who tried to temper the tragic tone in ordinary dialogue and make it approach the speech of daily life, would not, in fact did not (in his extant plays) employ the middle of ἴδεν.² In fact, he uses εἶδον about fifty times; and he has over one hundred and fifty examples of the aorist active in all moods.

We cannot emend by writing ἦν κάγγυς ὄρᾳν (a "close-up," *Ion* 586, Aesch. *Cho.* 852 f.), for that would be too great a departure from the reading of the MSS., nor by ἦν καὶ γνοῦς ὄρῳ

¹ As Orestes to Iphigenia, so Teucer says to Helen: ἀ δ' εἶδον αὐτὸς τάδε φράσω τεκμήρια.

² Cp. 72 τίν' εἶδον ὄψιν; ἐχθίστην ὄρῳ (as in the passage under discussion), 559 εἶδον δέμας (Helen), 563 Ἑλένη σ' ὁμολαν . . . εἶδον, *El.* 620 and 631 (εἶδον).

(in spite of the fact that it is γνῶσιν and not simply δόκησιν that Helen is demanding); we must leave καὶ νοῦς ὄρᾱ intact and look for the corruption in εἰδόμην. By removing the second vertical stroke of M in ΕΙΔΟΜΗΝ we secure ΕΙΔΟΝΗΝ: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅσσοις εἶδον ἦν καὶ νοῦς ὄρᾱ, i. e. ὡς ταύτην οὔσαν ἦν κτέ. The Helen seen at Troy was no hallucination, a phantom ἐκ θεῶν, a person seen merely ὅσσοις, which are subject to deception, but was perceived also σὺν νῷ. Such is the answer to Helen's query (δόκησιν ἀσφαλῆ). In this emendation καὶ finds a *raison d'être*. Helen had asked εἶδες (note the active) . . . ἥ κλύων λέγεις; Teucer answers: ὥσπερ σέ γ' . . . ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρῳ. Helen is not convinced: she surmises a δόκησιν ἐκ θεῶν. Teucer scoffs at the idea. But Helen insists, and in order to banish from her mind the last suspicion of doubt he reiterates what he had just said ("I saw you with my own eyes") and adds that he was not mistaken, inasmuch as his perception was mental as well as physical (ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ νοῦς); she could not say to him, as Teiresias said to Oedipus: τυφλὸς τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἶ—the identity of the Trojan and of the Egyptian Helen is clearly established. Teucer saw her at Troy οὔσαν καὶ νοῦς ὄρᾱ, and not simply as a phantasm of a sleep-imprisoned soul, nor the imagination of a drowsing brain (βριζούσης φρενός, Aesch. Ag. 275). That the relative ἦν can be used like οὔσαν is attested by numerous examples. Cp. Med. 240, ὅτῳ μάλιστα χρήσεται συνεννέτη.³

Helen is sure that Teucer saw an εἶδωλον, a μίμημα (875), whereas Teucer is convinced that neither his eyesight nor his mind was defective. Compare the words of Menelaus when he first sees Helen (575): οὐ πον φρονῶ μὲν εὔ, τὸ δ' ὄμμα μου νοσεῖ. But the mind has an eye also and can see: εἶδονσα γὰρ φρὴν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται (Aesch. Eum. 104), for the mind, sleeping, has a clearer vision; δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾶ φρενί (Eum. 275); οὔτοι φρέν' ἂν κλέψειεν ὠματωμένην, will not cheat my clear-eyed

³ Medea means "one cannot tell beforehand what manner of man one will get." So the chorus says in El. 1100 τύχη γυναικῶν ἐς γάμους ("it's a chance"). Cp. Xen. Oec. 7. 11 τίς ἂν κοινῶν βέλτιστον οἴκου τε καὶ τέκνων λάβοιμεν, Dem. 1. 14 χρήται καὶ συζῆ, Nicostratus (Stob. Mein. III, p. 30) ὁποῖαι δὴ τινες τοῖς τρόποις αἱ γυναῖκες ἀναφανήσονται . . . καταμαντεύονται περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πόρρωθεν ὁποῖαι τινες ἔσονται. Euripides is not representing Medea as thinking about the management of a husband, as many editors interpret.

mind (*Cho.* 856), and Eur. *Fr. inc.* 6. 4, οὐκ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ ταῦτα κρίνόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ νοῦς.

Verse 125.

Many attempts have been made to restore this verse. I think that the corruption is in εἶπας, and is due to haplography. If the poet wrote τόδ' ἐπεῖπας, this could (in centuries of transmission) easily become τόδ' εἶπας. The verb ἐπειπεῖν means *postea dicere, dictum addere*. Cp. Hdt. 1. 123 διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν ἐπειπεῖν τοιάδε, Thuc. 1. 67 ἐπεῖπον τοιάδε, Plut. *Cim.* 4 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Στησιμβρότου γεγραμμένοις ἐπειπεῖν. In Plut. *Mor.* 70 E the verb is used absolutely; also in 208 C (ἐπειπόντος δέ, *cum adiecisset*). So *Syl.* 14, and often.

The relative οἷς now becomes the dative after ἐπὶ in composition, not the indirect object, and κακόν (which was supposed to be the direct object) must be changed to κακοῖς to agree with οἷς.

Verse 154.

The MSS. read κυσὶν πεποιθώς. This seems very inept, and scholars have changed the participle to γεγηθώς. I am inclined to think that ΠΕΠΟΙΘΩΣ was originally three words ΓΕΠΟΙΘΩΣ, that is, γ' ἐποιθ' ὥς, 'that he might follow the dogs in the chase.' The optative is due to the fact that ἄπεισι is equivalent to ἔλιπε τὰ βασίλεια. Cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 6. 19 ἔπεσθε, ὧ κύνες (i. e. the hare). The dogs followed the game and the hunter followed the dogs, or accompanied them, for ἔπεσθαι means 'to go along with,' as is attested by 5. 28 (οἱ φόβοι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅταν διώκωνται, ἐπόμηναι μετὰ τούτων), and by the numerous examples of ἔπεσθαι σύν.

Verse 292.

The MSS. read νῦν δ', οὔτε τοῦτ' ἔστ' οὔτε μὴ σωθῇ ποτε. The verb σωθῇ may be corrupt, for Helen had just said that her husband is dead, and she would hardly say in the next breath "he will never be saved." The emendations are all unsatisfactory. I suggest γνωσθῇ. The tokens which were known to Menelaus and Helen alone (ξύμβολα) can never be used now to establish her identity, since the only person who, through these tokens, can recognize that she is indeed the Helen of Sparta, is dead. If γνωσθῇ is right, it is merely a resumption of ἀναγνωσθεῖμεν in 290.

Possibly, however, Helen means simply "he is dead, dead, dead, and I shall never see him again." If so, the text is sound.

Verse 277

ἄγκυρα δὴ μου τὰς τύχας ὀχεῖ μόνη

That the verse is corrupt is indicated by the asyndeton, by the improper use of τὰς τύχας, which usually means *misfortune* (cp. *Androm.* 973, *Or.* 80, 360, *El.* 602, 996, *H. F.* 1141, 1314, 1396, *Aesch. Prom.* 106, 182, 302, etc.) instead of *good fortune* (τύχη), and by the verb ὀχεῖ, *bears*. The function of an anchor is *to hold*, not *to carry*. Hence, I suggest ὄχμ' ἦν μόνη. The scribe must have pronounced and written OXHMNH. He thus deprived the clause of its verb, which was now sought in OXH—the only letters left—and wrote ὀχεῖ, despite the fact that the context requires a past tense, which some editors secure by changing ὀχεῖ to ὤχει.

The subject of the verb is not ἄγκυρα itself, but the relative of which this noun is the antecedent (δ' ἧ). The singular τῆς τύχης was naturally changed to τὰς τύχας (since the genitive had no regimen) when ἦν disappeared and was supplanted by ὀχεῖ, which required an object.

Verse 279 has also been suspected. Hermann reads εἴπερ τέθνηκεν οὗτος, Badham ἀφ' οὗ κτέ. But the repetition of οὗτος is precisely what we should expect. What Helen intended to say was αὕτη (= ἡ ἄγκυρα), but she is so overcome with emotion that she inadvertently substitutes οὗτος. Hence the anacoluthon—metaphorical rather than syntactical. The intervening verses—in one of which occurs πόσιν—have removed the verb so far from its subject that the metaphor is abandoned, is not carried over, and ἄγκυρα is replaced by πόσις, which is the anchor: οὗτος τέθνηκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ' ἔστι δὴ instead of αὕτη ἀποίχεται. That this is the true explanation seems to be indicated also by *Hec.* 80 f. δς μόνος ἄγκυρ' ἔτ' ἐμῶν, on which the scholiast says: ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ναυτιλλομένων, οἱ τὰς ἄλλας ρύψαντες ἀγκύρας . . . ἐπὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. So Medea's last hope is placed in the "hawser": πρυμνήτην κάλων. | οὗτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ κτέ (770). Cp. *Anth. P.* 12. 159 ἐν σοὶ τὰμὰ βίον πρυμνήσι' ἀνῆπται, *Eur. Her.* 478, *Aesch. Suppl.* 765 οὐδ' ὄρμος οὐδὲ πεισμάτων σωτηρία, *Cho.* 131 φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην πείσμ' ἀναψον ἐν δόμοις (the 'cable,' which

Electra calls Orestes, just as Helen calls Menelaus the 'anchor').

Hesychius defines ὄχμα by ἔχμα, and ὀχμάζει by συνέχει, κατέχει (*holds, fastens*). Cp. schol. Aesch. *Prom.* 618 ὀχμή (where Pauw reads ὄχμα), N 139 ἔχματα πέτρης, and ὄχανον, *holder*. For ὀχμάζειν see Aesch. *Prom.* 5, 618, Eur. *El.* 817, *Cycl.* 484 (*grip fast*), *Or.* 265.

Verse 297.

So long as σῶμ' lacks a qualifying epithet the "body" referred to can be only that of the king; and Helen is not thinking of cannibalism. In darkest Africa a σῶμα would be characterized as ἡδύ rather than πικρόν. But here the royal Helen has in mind other food—the βόσκημα on the richly spread table of the palace, of which she has just spoken. The dislodged word which modified σῶμ' was, I think, ἡσθέν, which was mistaken for ἐστίν, because the subject preceded and the predicate adjective followed. Helen had been sitting at a bountiful table for ten years (πρὸς πλουσίαν τράπεζαν ἔξουσ'), unlike Philoctetes, ὃς μὴδ' οἰνοχύτου πώματος ἦσθη δεκέτει χρόνῳ (*Soph. Phil.* 715), and she was able to say: ὁρᾷς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὡς ἡδὺς βίος (*Eur. Fr.* 1052), for as Prodicus defines ἡδεσθαι, it is ἐσθίοντά τι ἢ ἄλλο ἡδὺν πάσχοντα αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι (*Plato, Prot.* 337 C), but to Helen, under the circumstances, it was πικρόν, that is, λυπρόν. So Electra is satisfied with mere τροφή, *support of life*, a τράπεζα sufficient to keep body and soul together, a βόσκημα τοιοῦτον ὥστε μὴ λυπεῖν με (*Soph. El.* 363 f.). Cp. *Plato, Rep.* 328 D αἱ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἡδοναί, *Arist. Eth.* N. 7. 8. 4. αἱ σωματικαὶ ἡδοναί *Xen. An.* 1. 9. 26 χήνας . . . τούτοις ἦσθη, *Eur. Fr.* 212 φανύλη διαίτη . . . ἦσθη, *Cycl.* 446 ἡσθεὶς ποτῶ, *Fr.* 284, 541, *I. T.* 388 παιδὸς ἡσθῆναι βορᾷ.

The construction τὸ σῶμ' ἡσθέν is one which Euripides, as well as Thucydides, affects: it is simply the articular infinitive with reserved rights (one in which a special application lurks), is equivalent to τὸ ἡδεσθαι τὸ σῶμα, πάσχειν ἡδύ τι αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι. Cp. *Hipp.* 248 τὸ δὲ μαινόμενον (both general and particular), *Thuc.* I. 36 τὸ δεδιώς, I. 142 τὸ θαρσοῦν, τὸ μὴ μελετῶν (both abstract and concrete), *Hec.* 299 τῷ θυμουμένῳ, *Or.* 210 τῷ παρειμένῳ.

If Matthiae had conjectured ἡδεσθαι instead of σῶζεσθαι, he would have come much nearer the poet's meaning. Orelli's πῶμ' gives half the sense, Ribbeck's βρῶμ' the other half; but these emendations are too easy; and they do not account for the cor-

ruption. Stadtmueller's *τρυφᾶν* hits the mark, so far as what Helen means is concerned. The other conjectures (*δῶμ'*, *φῶς*, *σῶν*, *ζῆν*, *τόδ' αὐτ'*, *κάξίωμ'*,) do not meet the requirements of the context, and most of them involve too great an alteration of the reading of the MSS. Wecklein has accepted *πλούσιον*, which, to my mind, is impossible.

An interesting parallel to our passage is found in Sophocles, *Electra* 363 f., of which there are about thirty different interpretations and almost as many conjectures. The poet means, I think, simply "for *thee* the superabundant table of the rich; for *me* enough to keep me alive." Electra has in mind only *physical* comfort: this is shown by the three substantives *τράπεζα* and *βόσκημα* (at the two ends) and *βίος* (*living*) in the middle. The infinitive clause signifies "not to cause me discomfort." Though *λύπη* connotes also mental, or moral, distress, its normal meaning is 'physical pain.' The phrase *τοῦ . . . λυπεῖν* is a limiting genitive equivalent to a temporary compound adjective (*τοσοῦτον ὥστε μὴ λυπεῖν*, enough to live on without having to endure the pangs of hunger). Cp. Xen. *Mem.* 3. 10. 15 (ὁ θώραξ *λυπεῖ*), Aesch. *Ag.* 791 *δῆγμα λύπης*, Eur. *Alc.* 1100 *λύπη δηχθήσομαι*. Electra's desire is *not* to fast (a Greek was too sensible for that), but to have just enough to eat so that she would not be obliged to *ὑποφέρειν λύπας*. Cp. *Ion*, 632 *εἴη δ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν μέτρια μὴ λυπουμενῶς*.

When Electra says to her sister: *σοὶ δὲ πλουσία | τράπεζα κείσθω καὶ περιρρέτω βίος*, she is expressing the same thought as Helen utters with reference to herself when she says *πρὸς πλουσίαν τράπεζαν ἴζουσ'* (295); but the 'rich table,' which is calculated to give her pleasure, only gives her pain: it is not something *ἡδύ*, but *πικρόν*, *λυπηρόν*. Cp. *El.* 987 *πικρόν δὲ καὶ ἡδύ*.

C. R. Shackel, in the article quoted above, would change *σῶμ'* to *σῶν* and *ἐστὶν* to *εἶναι*: 'Living with a hateful man one hates makes security itself hateful.' Murray remarks: "*Τὸ σῶμ' sanum videtur.*"

Verse 302

In 293 Helen asks *τί δῆτ' ἔτι ζῶ*; She makes up her mind to die (*θανεῖν κράτιστον*, 298). The next question is *πῶς θάνοιμ' ἂν οὖν καλῶς*; She rejects hanging (*ἀσχήμονες μὲν ἀγχόνας*); it is *δυσπρεπές*, and so considered even by slaves; and finally she

decides upon self-slaughter by the sword (cp. 142)—σφαγαὶ δ' ἔχουσιν εὐγενές τι καὶ καλόν—there must be nothing base and ugly about her death. Then follows a verse which no scholar has succeeded in interpreting:

σμικρὸν δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἀρτ' ἀπαλλάξαι βίον.

Before considering my emendation of the meaningless *αρτ'* it will be well to quote the three succeeding verses, since they contain the *reason* for the statement made by the beautiful Helen in 302:

ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἤλθομεν βάθος κακῶν·
αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι διὰ τὸ κάλλος εὐτυχεῖς
γυναῖκες, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀπώλεσει.

Hermann changed *αρτ'* to *σάρκ'*, evidently because Helen says later (354 ff.) *ξίφοκτόνον δίωγμα . . . πελάσω διὰ σαρκὸς ἄμυλλαν*. But this is altogether different from *σάρκ' ἀπαλλάξαι βίον*, to say nothing of the palaeographical difficulty, or even of the improbability of the poet's making use of such an expression. Dindorf follows Boissonade in reading *κάρτ'*, which leaves *ἀπαλλάξαι* without an object, whereas the active of this verb is regularly transitive in the tragic poets. C. Keil (who also proposed *ἄρθρ'*⁴) changed *αρτ'* to *κρᾶτ'*, which was adopted by Nauck. But this is very prosaic, not to say grotesque. One can say *στέρεσθαι κρατός* (Aesch. *Pers.* 371) but not *κρᾶτ' ἀπαλλάξαι βίον*. Helen is not thinking of removing her head. In fact, this is just what she does not lose (in any sense) at the supreme moment; and in this Euripides gives a truly feminine touch: at the *καιρός* of death Helen retains something of "das ewig Weibliche"—a sense of her charms does not abandon her. She is not the philosophical Cato, who in contemplative mood says

My death and life,
My bane and antidote, are both before me:
This in a moment brings me to an end.

⁴ This emendation, at first sight, seems plausible. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 385 cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, 695 quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus, 703 teque isto corpore solvo. But the Vergilian expression does not connote the same idea as *ἄρθρ' ἀπαλλάξαι βίον*.

She is not even a frenzied Dido exclaiming: sic iuvat ire sub umbras. Nor is she a Hamlet reasoning about the shuffling off this mortal coil. Being a woman, she is thinking of her *appearance*.⁵ Ajax, as he is about to fall upon his sword, becomes more human; but his mind has been dwelling on his prowess, as the mightiest warrior that ever stood before the walls of Troy. A Napoleon, a Cæsar, or an Alexander, would have thought of his past glory, of his conquests. Helen's glory is her beauty, her loveliness, the δῶρ' ἐρατὰ . . . χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης (Γ 64), her conquests the hearts of heroes. Hence I should emend the passage thus:

σμικρὸν δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐράτ' ἀπαλλάξαι βίον·

The mistake was a Sprachfehler, which was all the more natural as the two syllables formed the last two morae of a tribrach. An actor reciting the rapid Greek would be likely to voice the ρ (rt), and if a scribe were writing the words from dictation, or saying them to himself as he wrote, he would slide over a vowel, (as naturally as a Frenchman) and write ἄρτ', or ἐρτ'. Compare especially the elision of *e* in the middle of a word in French: rest(e)rai, red(e)vient, s'appellerait (sapelre). Sometimes even two *e*'s are suppressed (*bequ(e)t(e)ra*), *d(e) s(e) taire*). In careless speech 'les hommes' becomes even *lzom*; 'des autres,' *dzotr*; 'de temps en temps,' *tāzātā*; 'c'est-à-dire,' *stadir*; and 'déjà venu,' *dja vny*. Cp. the Sanskrit *ṛ* and its Greek equivalents, the Ionic form of the third plural (-ατο, for *ητο*), the Greek ἔρδειν and ῥέζειν), the Aeolic (or Cyprian, according to Hesychius) ἔροτιν (*El.* 625)=ἐορτή.

As for Helen, ella aveva tutto per essere felice a questo mondo, "al tempo de' dolci sospiri" and all through her life; but now, so full of misery that she questions whether it is not better not to be. In this "maggior dolore" she recalls the "tempo felice." But even so she cannot forget the δῶρ' ἐρατά with which the golden Aphrodite had endowed her.

Sì dolce, sì gradita

Quand' è, com' or, la vita?

⁵ The best commentary on the passage is Electra's exclamation, on Helen's arrival from Troy (*Or.* 126-29): ὦ φύσις . . . εἶδετε παρ' ἄκρας ὥς ἀπέθριψεν τρίχας | σφύζουσα κάλλος; ἔστι δ' ἡ πάλαι γυνή.

The neuter plural *ἐρατά* is used to include all lovely things, but in this general term a special application lurks: it is not simply *μολπαὶ ἐραταί* (*El.* 718), *ἐρατὸν λέχος* (*Her.* 915), or other things that make life worth living, but also and particularly Helen's lovely self. Cp. Aesch. *Sept.* 864 *ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων στηθέων*, *Eum.* 958 *νεανίδων τ' ἐπηράτων*.

Liddell and Scott cite this passage to illustrate the intransitive use of *ἀπαλλάττειν*, but "to depart this life" would be *ἀπαλλάττεσθαι βίου*. Cp. 102, *Hipp.* 356, Plato, *Rep.* 496 E. So with *βίου* understood, *Heracl.* 1000, Thuc. 2. 42, Pl. *Phaedo* 81 C. The active regularly takes an object, not only in Euripides, but also in Sophocles and Aeschylus. In fact, Helen had just said *καί μ' ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν* (278). Cp. *Or.* 1522, *Ph.* 1077, *Med.* 333, *Hipp.* 774, 1385, *Suppl.* 397, *I. A.* 323, *I. T.* 994, *Tr.* 1150. Also *Hipp.* 356 *ψυχῆς ἀπαλλαχθείσα*, *Ion.* 847 *ἀπαλλάξῃ βίου*.

But what is the meaning of *σμικρὸν δὲ καιρός*? Helen is certainly not thinking that her case is that of Hippolytus whose life is hanging by a thread, *ἐπὶ σμικρᾷ ῥοπῇς* (1163); nor is she thinking of a mortal blow, *ἐς καιρὸν τυπείσα*; rather of the precision of the line of demarcation between life and death, *ὁ καιρὸς σαφής* (*Hipp.* 386)—a puff and the candle is out, a moment and all is over, all the brightness and loveliness of life vanished forever—*τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα Κύπριδος* (364), i. e. *ἐρατά*. And yet again, in this responsive song which follows the passage under discussion, we find that Helen's mind reverts to her beauty: *καλλοσύνης ἔνεκεν · τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας | ὤλεσε Πέργαναι Δαρδανίας*.

Verses 325-326.

*τάληθ' ἢ φράσαι
ἔχουσ' ἐν οἴκοις τοῖσδε τί βλέπεις πρόσω;*

Shackle (*loc. cit.*) suggests *ἡ 'χουσ'* ('She that can tell the truth'). But the difficulty lies deeper. This is not a case for the amputation of an initial vowel but for the cure of the final syllables of the first and last words of the verse. Corruption, as often, attacked the extremities: *ἔχουσ'* was mistaken for the feminine singular (with the subject of *βλέπεις*), whereas in fact it is the dative plural agreeing with *οἴκοις*. The confusion was increased by the hyperbaton, as a result of which *πρός* merged

with *οὐ* to form *πρόσω*.⁶ If the normal order (*τί οὐ προσβλέπεις*;) had been preserved, the dative plural of the participle (*ἔχουσιν*) would not have been misread *ἔχουσ' ἐν*. The position of the dative *οἴκοις* (following hard upon the participle) also contributed to the detachment of the noun from the preposition by which it was really governed (*πρός*) and thus transformed the dative masculine plural into a nominative feminine singular, and the termination *-ιν* into a preposition. (The loose, floating *πρός* can be more readily detached from its verb than any other preposition—*προσβλέπεις*, or *βλέπεις πρόσ*. Cp. *H. F.* 1059 *πρός οὓς βάλω* = *οὓς προσβάλω*).

The meaning is, I take it, 'why not cast thy eyes palace-ward?' It is not 'she that can tell the truth,' but 'this house.' Cp. 331 ff. *βᾶτε δ' ἐς δόμους, | ἀγῶνας ἐντὸς δόμων | ὥς πύθῃσθε τοὺς ἐμούς*.

Verse 389.

In the participle *πεισθείς* commentators have seen Pelops 'sawn' (*πρωθείς*), 'boiled' (*πεφθείς*), 'sacrificed' (*τυθείς*), 'called' (to the gods, *κληθείς*), 'crowned' (*στεφθείς*), and 'feasted' (*δαισθείς*). I do not know in what other possible way the youth might be served, but I suggest merely *παῖς θ' ὥς*. The post-position of *ὥς* is frequent in the tragedians, probably more frequent than our MSS. indicate. Cp. *Hec.* 1173 *θῆρ ὥς*, *H. F.* 632 *ναῦς ὥς*, 1094 (*ὅπως*), 692 *κύκνος ὥς*, 869, 974, 1401 *παῖδ' ὅπως*, *Ph.* 628, 1004, 1377, 1380, *Or.* 45, *I. T.* 284, 297. Should not *μηδαμῶς* in *Soph. O. C.* 278 be *μηδὲν ὥς*? In 388 *εὐθέως* (Hermann's conjecture) should probably be read for the MS. *ἐς θεούς*.

Verse 445.

The text is sound. The "*χείρα*" is that of Menelaus. The *γραῦς* pushes it away as it is held to her in entreaty and bids him begone (*ἄπελθ'*). Odysseus puts his hand under his cloak so that Polyxena cannot grasp it (*Hec.* 342). Cp. *Hipp.* 325 *βιάζῃ χειρὸς ἐξαρτωμένη*; also 333, 335. The old Attic word *εἴλει* is explained by the following *μηδ' ὥθει βία*. Cp. the *ὑπόθεσις* to *Dem.* 30, *K* 347, *Hdt.* 3. 45; 1. 80; 1. 176; 3. 146; 9. 31; *Thuc.* 7. 81.

⁶ Indeed, some verse ending in *πρόσω* (*I. A.* 919, *H. F.* 557, 751) might have been lingering in the scribe's mind.

Verse 448.

The adverb *πικρῶς* was probably originally *πικροῖς* (ιν).

Verses 577-78.

There are over thirty conjectures. Liddell and Scott's definition of *ἀποστερεῖ* is impossible. The truth seems to be that *σόφισμα*—a favorite Euripidean word—is hidden in *σαφές μ'* and that *τὸ δέ* was originally *τόδε*. No *μηχάνημα σοφιστῶν* should deceive Menelaus, the man who knows her best of all. In the next verse read *τίς οὐ δέῃ σ' ἐστὶ σοῦ σοφώτερος*;

Verse 679.

τάδ' εἰς κρίσιν σοι τῶνδ' ἔθηχ' Ἥρα κακῶν;

Kirchhoff reads *τί δ' . . . κακά*, Hermann *τά δ' εἰς κρίσιν τί*, Musgrave, Seidler, and W. Dindorf *τήνδ' ἐφῆχ' Ἥρα κακόν*. I suggest *τί δ' ἐς κρίσιν σοι*; *τῷ δ' ἔθηχ' Ἥρα κακόν*; 'What have you to do with it? Why did Hera harm you?' Helen answers: *Κύπριν ὡς ἀφέλοιτο*—. Since the verse was thought to contain a single question, *τῷ δ'* was mistaken for *τῶνδ'*, especially as *κακόν* (-ῶν) followed. For a similar error in which the interrogative was mistaken for a demonstrative, see Aesch. *Cho.* 224 *ὡς ὄντ' Ὀρέστην τῷ δ' ἐγὼ σε προὔννεπω*; (MSS. *τάδ' ἐγὼ*); for the position, *Cho.* 925 *τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς δὲ πῶς φύγω, παρὲς τάδε*; and for the use of *ἐς*, *El.* 1100 *ἐς γάμους* (*in the matter of marriage*). In *Bacch.* 473 we find an interrogative at the very end: *ἔχει δ' ὄνησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν τίνα*;

Verse 866.

There are three imperatives: *ἡγοῦ, θές, δός*. The first is merely introductory (to announce the entrance of Theonoe and her attendant to the audience); the next two are contrasted with each other: *θές μὲν . . . δός δέ*. But this *δέ*, strengthened by *αὖ*, is placed at the beginning of the sentence, nine words before *δός*, because a conditional clause precedes the imperative, whereas the corresponding *μὲν* is moved forward to the fifth place in its clause.

The *ε* in *μὲν* was mis-written *ο*, and the particle then merged with *θές* to form the substantive *θεσμόν*, a word which seemed to be all the more appropriate to the unthinking scribe since he

saw νόμον just below. The adjective *θείον* is a factitive predicate with *μυχόν*, while *σεμνοῦ* modifies *αἰθέρος*. Thus interpreted the sentence becomes perfectly balanced, the accusatives at the extremities of the verse and the genitives in the middle. *θείον δὲ σεμνοῦ θὲς μὲν αἰθέρος μυχόν*: "Make the fold of the august ether holy." In the *μὲν* clause the priestess bids the attendant make the air *θείον*, that is, *καθαρόν*; in the *δέ* clause she commands the torch-bearer to make the ground holy *καθαροῖω φλογί*, if haply someone has defiled it by unholy tread (*ἀνοσίω ποδί*). That *σεμνοῦ* qualifies *αἰθέρος* seems to be beyond question. Cp. *I. T.* 1177 *σεμνόν γ' ὑπ' αἰθέρα*, *Ar. Nub.* 291, 265, *Thesm.* 1068 *Eur. Hipp.* 746, *Fr.* 898. The epithets *ἀγνός*, *ιέρως*, *σεμνός*, *δῖος* are common in the poets: *Aesch. Prom.* 88 *δῖος αἰθῆρ*, 280, *Fr.* 44, *Eur. Fr.* 114 *αἰθέρος ιερᾶς σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου*, 487 *ιερὸν αἰθέρ'*, 765 *ιερὸν ἀνὰ Διὸς αἰθέρα*, 443, *Eur. Hel.* 1016 *ἀθάνατον αἰθέρα*, τ 540 *αἰθέρα διαν*, Π 366 *αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης*.

It is probable, at least, that the corruption is in *θεσμόν*. As Badham says, "Quo diutius hunc versum perpendo certius habeo vitii sedem in *θεσμόν* esse."

The phrase *αἰθέρος μυχόν* means, "the deep recess of the air." Cp. 617 *ἄστρον μυχούς*, *Ion*, 1445, *Or.* 1087, *Med.* 826, *El.* 991, *H. F.* 400, *Pind. P.* 6. 12.

The adjective *θείον* is often applied to a man; but it may also be applied to a thing. Cp. *Hdt.* 6. 69 *ἔμαθε ὡς θείον εἶη τὸ πρῆγμα*, *Dionys. Alex. Per.* 257, *Soph. Phil.* 140. The noun *μυχός* occurs naturally more frequently with "Hades" and "the earth" than with "the air." Cp. *Fr. adesp.* 281, *Aesch. Prom.* 431, *Cho.* 942, *Eur. Suppl.* 545, 926, 1206, *Tro.* 952, *Her.* 218, *Ion* 1239, *H. F.* 401, *Bacchylides* 5. 16 *βαθὴν αἰθέρα*, 3. 85 f. *βαθὺς μὲν | αἰθὴρ ἀμίαντος*.

Verse 936.

Mr. Shackle and I agree that the corruption is in the last word, as against Hermann, Lindau and Wecklein, who would emend *ἐν πυρᾷ*. Shackle's conjecture *κατεφλέγη* (*C. R.* XXVI. 163) had occurred to me many years ago, but was rejected on the ground that it was too easy: no scribe would have changed such a palpably fitting word to *κατεσφάγη*; and, even if *Λ* was misread as *Α*, two letters remain unaccounted for.

My own conjecture (κατεστάθη) could have produced κατεσφάγη only through metathesis of letters (CΘATH, whence CΦΑΓΗ).

I am still inclined to think that the context requires a verb like καθεσάναι, or εἶναι. If so, the missing verb may be concealed in the final vowel; and the real corruption would thus lie in κατεσφαγ. I suggest κατὰ φλόγ' ἦν—three words instead of one. If this is a palmary emendation, ΦΛΟΓ was misread ΦΑC Γ, and from καταφασγην the κατεσφάγη of our MSS. was inevitable, since ὅδ' required the third person. Or the final ν may have dropped out (as often), and καταφάσγη was altered to make sense, or by transposition of letters was changed to κατεσφάγη. Hence I should read

εἰ μὲν θανὼν ὅδ' ἐν πυρᾷ κατὰ φλόγ' ἦν.

The verb κατεσφάγη, which many scholars retain, is untenable, not because the act itself is improbable, but because the presence of θανὼν makes this verb impossible: there may be τῶν ζωγρηθέντων εἰς τὴν πυρὰν σφαγαί, but not τῶν θανόντων.

That κατὰ φλόγ' ἦν is what Euripides wrote seems to be indicated also by the tense. The apodosis requires an imperfect in the protasis. Neither κατεφλέγη nor any other verb in the aorist (and many have been suggested) satisfies the conditions. The context shows that Helen is thinking of her husband's present position, state, or condition (ἐν πυρᾷ κατὰ φλόγα > < ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ζῶν). The conditional clause refers to no specific locality (Troy, or the Peloponnesus, as commentators have imagined) but expresses, in poetic form, merely the abstract idea 'if he were dead,' in contradistinction to the fact that he is alive. The antithesis of εἰ μὲν κτέ is given in the subsequent verses (= τεθνηκὼς μὲν, ζῶν δέ).

Helen has in mind the body of her husband being consumed by the flame after it has been placed upon the pyre: ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν (Ω 787), ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ (Ψ 172). Cp. Pind. N. 9.56, Δ 99 πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ', Soph. Tr. 1254, El. 757 πυρᾷ κέαντες, Eur. 746 ἐμπύρου φλογός, Hec. 896 ὥς . . . μιᾷ φλογί . . . κρυφθῆτον χθονί, Plato, Rep. 614 B ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος.

That κατὰ φλόγ' ἦν makes an appropriate ending of the verse so far as the sense is concerned seems to be indicated by I 212 ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη, Ψ 228 τῆμος πυρκαϊῇ ἐμαραίνεται, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ, 33 εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστοιο, © 135 φλόξ ὤρτο θεείου καιομένου, Soph. Ant. 1020 μηρίων φλόγα, N. T.

Acts 7.30 ἐν φλογὶ πυρός. Cp. *Androm.* 848, *I. A.* 1602, *I. T.* 1331, *Tr.* 1063 πελάνων φλόγα, *Bacch.* 8, *Her.* 914 πυρὸς δεινᾷ φλογὶ σῶμα δαισθείς, *El.* 732, *Aesch. Ag.* 597, *Cho.* 268.¹

Verse 961.

Shackle's conjecture πολῶν (for πόθῳ) is, at first sight, tempting. But πολεῖ in *Or.* 1271 and πολεῖς in *Alc.* 29 convey a slightly different idea from that which is required in *Hel.* 961, to say nothing of the palaeographical difficulty.

The corruption is probably due to the dropping out of the final letter of an original πατῶν (Cp. 936, *Ion* 565, 1396), whence πόθῳ (θ instead of τ). So in *Aesch. Suppl.* 518 π has been written instead of φ (πιετω for πιτω = φοιτῶ). For the thought compare *Aesch. Ag.* 1298 πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς.

Verse 1374.

Hermann, assuming that a verse had dropped out before 1374, thought that κάλλιστα referred to ὄπλα. Barnes' conjecture τεύχη for ἐν τύχη is inadmissible.

¹ The publication of conjectures which, in the light of later criticism, are seen to be mere conjectures and not certain corrections, may seem to many scholars a waste of time, space, and energy. But there is one distinct gain. The mistake discerned in another's theory, or in one's own, may lead finally to the solution of a problem the importance of which is not fully recognized until it has been solved. Whether my attempt to find the words which κατεσφάγη dislodged has been successful or not, I certainly would not have attacked the problem again, if Shackle had not published a conjecture which, with many others, I had abandoned long ago. As De Amicis says in his *Il Canto di un Lavoratore*, "La mente esercitata vede, abbraccia, scruta cento cose e aspetti delle cose ad un tempo; prevede e scansa con mosse agili ripetizioni d'idee già espresse e di forme usate un gran tratto innanzi; rivola indietro improvvisamente a grandi distanze a colmar lacune e a emendare errori . . . e nelle brevi soste dell' opera presente le balenano idee d'altri lavori, d'affatto diversa natura; e mille ricordi di letture e memorie della vita, utili all' opera sua, le passano e ripassano davanti . . . e tutte le sue facoltà vibrano e s'acuiscono a vicenda e operano di concerto." In the art of emending, as well as in art in general, nothing is small. Without theory, practice is but routine born of habit. It is only the narrow mind that disdains everything which has not an immediate application. It was by taking infinite pains and

By making one vertical stroke in the second word we secure a caesura for the verse, restore the object of the verb, allow δῆ(τ) finally to perform its proper function, make κάλλιστα an adverb, and give to the whole verse its original meaning:

κάλλιστα δὲ πᾶν ἤρπασεν τύχῃ πόσις.

When πᾶν flew asunder, the first leg of π, being mistaken for τ, was attracted to δῆ, and the rest of the word naturally adhered to the adjoining verb, creating a compound which is ill-adapted to the sense and a verse that is no verse, but a series of frog-leaps. The simple form, used more than twice as many times as ἀναρπάζειν by Euripides, is regularly employed when such an act as is here described is referred to (ξίφος ἀρπάσας Bacch. 628, κώπας ἀρπάσαντε φασγάνων, Ph. 1404, El. 819 εὐκρότητον Δωρίδ' ἀρπάσας χεροῖν), whereas ἀναρπάζειν usually denotes sudden violence: kidnapping, snatching up into heaven, down into the earth, up through the ether, sacking of a city (Ph. 1079, Hel. 751), usurpation of a throne (H. F. 1167). Cp. Hel. 1565, Androm. 1158 ἀναρπάσαντες ὡς τάχος. The phrase πᾶν ἤρπασεν means *omnia corripuit*. Menelaus is accomplishing his purpose stealthily and craftily, not by an open display of force. That comes much later, when he and his comrades are out on the sea far from the shore and, sure of success, they put on a bold front and resort to arms.

Verse 1535.

The corruption is due, I think, to itacism. We should read οἷς ἐνῆν "whom it was in" (the power of), "up to," "whose job it was," i. e. "One set up the mast, another placed the oar, and those whose business it was hoisted sail." The position of εἰς ἐν ἧν, between καθίστατο and παρακαθίετο, shows a continuity of thought and construction and, incidentally, the improbability of Hermann's explanation: "in unumque conjuncta cum his vela erant." The meaning is rather 'the men whose duty it was set to work

rudentis

Excutere et ventis intendere vela secundis.'

by paying close attention to the little things in the interpretation of facts while experimenting that Pasteur finally succeeded in proving that there was no such thing as spontaneous generation.

Verse 1590.

The speaker urges the captain to give the order and then turns to the man at the helm saying, σὺ δὲ στρέφ' οἴακ'. The emendation δεξιὰν κέλευε σύ occurred to me many years ago. Murray attributes it to Baynes, Wecklein to Faehse.

Verse 1597.

The text is sound. All who can find spears are to use them; the rest will pick up anything they can lay hands on—oars or broken benches.

There is a vast amount of work to be done yet on the Greek texts. The old scholars would be amazed to see the huge mass of emendations made in the past three hundred years, but not so amazed as the Greek poets themselves would be, if they could read what the men of aftertime have made them say. To restore the arms of the Aphrodite of Melos, or the head of the Victory of Samothrace, would be sacrilege; but as an aid to the restoration of the tragic poets we have, in addition to the MSS. themselves, the metre, the scholia—and common sense: le bon sens, aidé des manuscrits, ou le bon sens aidé des scolies, ou le bon sens cherchant d'autres secours, quand ceux-ci viennent à lui manquer (Weil).

As I glance over these emendations I observe that many of the errors are due to incorrect division. Such mistakes are difficult to avoid in a language in which the words are so closely knit together, in which the line of cleavage between two words is frequently so hard to discern. With a couple of consonants and a couple of vowels, or diphthongs, several words, by permutation and combination, may be made in any language. But with such meager material Greek can make a score of whole phrases, and *without rearrangement of the letters*. In French it is possible to do something like this, but only with uttered vocables, not with the written characters.⁸ In a Greek MS. οὐδεῖσιν (see on 578) may represent οὐδείς οὐ, οὐδείς οὐ, οὐδ' εἰς οὐ, οὐδ' εἰς οὐ, οὐδ' εἰ σου (or εἰ σοῦ), οὐδ' εἰ σ' οὐ (adhaerescence), οὐ δεῖ σ' οὐ, οὐ δ' εἰ σ' οὐ, οὐ δ' εἰ σου, οὐ δεῖ σ' οὐ, οὐ δεῖ

⁸ For example, vaincs, vainc, vain, vingt, vint, vin, vins are identical in pronunciation.

σου, οὐ δέ σ' οὐ, οὐ δέ σ' οὐ, οὐδ' εἰ σ' οὐ, οὐ δέ σ' οὐ, οὐ δέ σ' οὐ, οὐ δέ σ' οὐ, and so on. The interlacing, fusion, and mortising of words are effected not only by elision, aphaeresis, change of consonants, but also by interlocking of whole words, e. g. *Hec.* 44 ἀδελφὴν τῷδ' ἐμὴν ἐν ἡματι, *Bacch.* 684 πρὸς ἐλάτης νῶτ' ἐρείσασαι φόβην.⁹ Sometimes the position of words and phrases proves a powerful aid in determining the sense. *Hipp.* 1-2 has been very often misinterpreted. Busche, in his review of my article on the passage, says: "Man muss ihm zugestehen, dass er es erreicht hat, dass also die beiden Verse so zu verstehen sind wie er . . . sie übersetzt." Von Wilamowitz, who wrote me that he agreed with me in my understanding of the passage, had also this to say: "Durch die Wortstellung ist alles in eins gefasst, denn πολλή ist correlat mit ἀνώνυμος und ἐν βροτοῖς mit οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω. Das ist verschränkt, eben um alles in eins zu fassen." The Romans could bind the parts of a sentence together by the interweaving of whole words and thus secure a solid sentence-structure (*cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graiis*), but they lacked the faculty of welding single words together like the Greeks. In Latin each tub of a word sits on its own bottom. Among modern languages, French, with its delicacy, its brevity, due to liaison and to the suppression of vowels and consonants under certain conditions, is alone comparable to Greek. In Italian, and to a lesser degree in Spanish, with the terrific stretching of their mouth-filling words, such mistakes as we find in our Greek MSS. would be less likely to occur: *fuori di combattimento* requires more lung-power than *ordkōba* (*hors de combat*), and *abbastanza prossimo* than *assez prochain*.¹⁰

⁹ To juxtapose similar words, Greek will even thrust a nominative in between a preposition and its object (ἦκω μετὰ γέρον . . . γραιῶν, *Ph.* 1318); or use an imperative in a subordinate clause (with the same vivacity as a flapper who says 'Tell you, girls, what let's do'); or enfold a principal clause in a dependent clause (ὥς μὲν οὐκ εὖ μὴ λέγ' εἰργασθαι τάδε, *Or.* 600).

¹⁰ And these are not mere chance contrasts. Cp. *passavano frettolosamente*, *giudicherebbero un fanfarone*, *improvvisamente mormoravano una preghiera*, *bisognerebbe assolutamente dimenticare*, *inverosimilmente supplichevole*, *addormentandosi e risvegliandosi*, *minacciandola scherzosamente*, *accarezzandogliela*. English is content with *sakt*, but the Italian must stretch the word to *saccheggiato*. French is satisfied with *ore dy ekute* (*auraient dû écouter*), but an Italian extends it

But the very flexibility of the Hellenic tongue, with the interweaving of its delicate fibres, of its gossamer-like words, in which the slightest change in sound or letter transforms the meaning (where in another idiom we might have merely a mutilated form) is the source of a greater number of errors in transcription than is possible in any other language. I shall close this rather long appendix to my emendations of the *Helena* with a single illustration. I am persuaded that the words of that verse in one of the best-known tragedies of Euripides, which has puzzled thousands of professors and has been glibly read by tens of thousands of students during the past three hundred years, expressed more to those who listened to the play in the Greek theater than it has to the poet's commentators—a more pungent reply in Apollo's mouth: ἡ μὲν σὺ παῖς εἶ καί περ ὦμὸς ὢν ἄγαν.

amorevolmente to *avrebbero dovuto ascoltare*. Even the Spaniard lengthens his *pensées* to *pensamientos*, his 'hopes' to *esperanzas*. Cp. *nacimiento* (simply *nesās* in French), *agradecimiento*, *amenazadores*, *afortunadamente*, *apresuradamente*. This tensile quality of Italian and Spanish would alone bar them from the court of the language universal (in spite of the fact that they are rich and melodious) and leave to French the seat of supremacy which it has occupied for three hundred and fifty years. Besides, French is already spoken by all cultivated people south of the Rio Grande, by most of those in Europe, in the Near East, and in wide territories of Africa and Southeastern Asia.

English has little to commend, much to condemn it as a universal language. Its lack of clearness—when its keys are not touched by exceptional artists—presents an obstacle practically insurmountable, not to speak of its propensity to bookkeeping concentration. And then the horrors of orthography, which intimidate foreigners and make them despair of ever being successful in really using it as a means of expression, unless they happen to be fortunate enough to be transported into an English atmosphere and learn the language all over again by ear; and this is impossible save for a chosen few. No idiom can really be learned for practical use, if the learner is not brought into daily contact with a large body of natives so that his lips and tongue and ear and brain may acquire by practice the habit of working, instinctively, in unison. This is one reason out of many why Latin can never become the universal language it was in the Middle Ages. German is too ponderous, and its non-Latin roots too numerous. The twenty republics of America, France, Spain, Italy, and their colonies, as well as the whole English-speaking world, would refuse to take the extra pains to learn it. Those who advocate a return to Latin, as in the Middle Ages, leave out of account the vast change in conditions.

Thanatos is told that he is a child, a weakling, for all his blustering brag and fearsome ferocity—he will prove a mere stripling in the hands of Heracles (τοῖος γὰρ κτέ). When Hermes complains that he is being taunted as a witless child, Prometheus replies: οὐ γὰρ σὺ παῖς τε κᾶτι τοῦδ' ἀνούστερος, | εἰ προσδοκᾷς ἐμοῦ τι πείσεσθαι πάρα; So Apollo: οὐ γὰρ σὺ παῖς τε κᾶτι τοῦδ' ἀσθενέστερος, εἰ προσδοκᾷς κρατήσῃν; Through failure to divide παισει into its component parts the future of παίειν came into being, and as this was meaningless, a slight change was made (παύσει), and this inept word has engendered others of its kind, such as πείση, κλαύση, simply because it had become a prepossession with scholars that the original verb was in the future.

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Esperanto is out of the question: it is wholly artificial, as Latin would be semi-artificial. Even Greek would lend itself more readily to the expression of modern ideas. Yet the arguments for the use of Latin far outnumber those for Greek. I am speaking particularly of the clearness, brevity, and rapidity of French and Greek. It is possible to obtain *effects* in English, in Spanish, which is "the language of the gods," and in Italian, greater than in French, or even in Greek; but for precision, clarity, rapidity, Greek surpasses any language ever spoken by the lips of man.

CREMATION AND INHUMATION IN THE AENEID.

So much have recent studies tended to confirm Vergil's reputation for exact antiquarian knowledge that one is curious to know how accurately his allusions to prehistoric customs tally with the results of the most advanced research today. For example, had he any conception of the distinction between the cremating and inhuming peoples who were involved in the conflict recorded in Aeneid VII-XII? We should expect him to infer from Homer that the Trojans and Greeks practised cremation. It is impossible to believe that he was entirely ignorant of the splendid old Etruscan tombs that lay so near to Rome and he probably had observed that the Etruscans of his own day buried their dead; but as regards the followers of Turnus, the poet might easily have been mistaken, since cremation was the custom of his day throughout central Italy and probably only the chance discovery of old tombs could have suggested to the learned that in the primitive times the area of cremation was limited to the central part of Latium,¹ whereas the Rutuli of Turnus' Ardea² and the Volscians³ of the Pontine region practised inhumation. In any case, we know enough of Vergil's method to be quite sure that he would not omit a careful search for all that might help him to present in correct setting the early peoples who occupied so large a place in his epic.

In the eleventh book of the poem (vss. 184-212) occurs a comparatively long and detailed description of the ways in which Trojans and Latins disposed of the bodies of their dead after the great battle of Bk. X. In this passage Vergil seems to have more than an inkling of the existence of cremating and of inhuming peoples among the combatants, a fact which did not escape the notice of Servius, who in his comment on vs. 186 says: *MORE TULERE PATRUM quia apud varias gentes*

¹ F. von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, pp. 391-436.

² F. von Duhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 519-21.

³ F. von Duhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-12; 521 ff. However, the excavations now in progress at Anzio are said to have revealed already at least three cremation-graves, whose contents are similar to those of the cemeteries of the Alban Hills.

diversa fuerunt genera sepulturae, inde est quod alii obruuntur, alii exuruntur, alii proprias remittuntur ad patrias; alii per diem, ut nunc isti, alii per noctem, ut supra Pallas. et perite has varietates Vergilius posuit.

In the first part of the passage the poet's distinctions are not so clearly drawn as Servius' note leads one to expect; for not only Aeneas, but also his ally, Tarchon, an inhuming Etruscan, erects *pyrae* on the shore, and though Vergil adds (XI, 185-6)

huc corpora quisque suorum
more tulere patrum,

the description which immediately follows (186-202) contains no mention of any other method of treating the bodies than that of burning.⁴ However, when we reach the lines (203-12) which describe the proceedings on the Latin side, we do find that variety of treatment of which Servius spoke on vs. 186:

Nec minus et miseri diversa in parte Latini
innumeras struxere pyras, et corpora partim
multa virum terrae infodiunt, avectaque partim
finitimos tollunt in agros ubique remittunt;
cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum
nec numero nec honore cremant; tunc undique vasti
certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri.
tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram:

⁴ It may be argued that the Trojans and Arcadians formed the important part of Aeneas' forces and that they both practised cremation; but the Etruscan contingent was numerically strong and Aeneas would naturally respect their burial-rites. Possibly the Etruscan practice was confused in Vergil's mind by a knowledge of chance discoveries of Villanovan urns in Etruria and even by a knowledge of the fact that in so typical an Etruscan tomb as the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere there was found in a niche on one side an olla containing cremated remains. These were, apparently, the ashes of an Italic dependent of the Etruscan master for whom this great chamber-tomb was built (see von Duhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-2; Randall-Mac Iver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 199-200). There would seem to have been a survival of Villanovan cremation for a brief period after the coming of the Etruscans. Moreover, though inhumation is the prevailing rite in Etruria, Chiusi is a striking exception to this rule and it is worthy of note that the catalogue of Aeneas' Etruscan allies begins with the band of one thousand *iuvenes* from Clusium and Cosae (Aen. X, 167-8),

maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant
ossa foci tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae.

Neither the catalogue of the Latin forces nor that of the Trojans is complete: but we do know that, besides his own countrymen, Aeneas had some Arcadian horsemen (VIII, 518-9; X, 236-9) and thirty shiploads of Etruscans with an admixture of Ligurians (X, 165-213), while the troops of Turnus came from many different localities and, so far as enumerated (VII, 646-817), would seem to have been mainly inhuming peoples. The striking point in this description is that cremation is used on the Latin side only for the great, confused heap of unknown dead, that many bodies are buried on the spot and that others are sent away to neighboring localities, including the city of Latinus. It seems reasonable that even inhuming peoples, when at war away from home, may have preferred to burn some of their dead rather than inter them in hostile soil.⁵ When the Latin *oratores* came to Aeneas, begging for the bodies of their fallen warriors, they asked (XI, 102-3)

*corpora, per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant,
redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terrae:*

but the courteous and sympathetic reply of Aeneas closes with the words (XI, 119):

nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem.

The expression *tumulo succedere terrae* does not preclude burning the dead and putting the ashes in the *tumulus* but the choice of the word *corpora* as its subject lends color to the belief that the *oratores* had inhumation in view. Moreover, the gracious tone of Aeneas' reply makes it probable that his command to burn the Latins was not a refusal to allow them to employ their particular rites but was merely an unconscious reflection of his own familiar practice; for, as we have seen above, the Latins in this case actually used cremation only for the great heap of unknown dead.

Furthermore, when Etruscan Mezentius found himself at the

⁵ Cf. Plin. N. H. VII, 54: *Ipsium cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti. terra condebantur. at postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere, tunc institutum;* Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, p. 479.

mercy of Aeneas in the fight, he begged for burial in the following words (X, 903-6):

unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro:
corpus humo patiare tegi. scio acerba meorum
circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem
et me consortem nati concede sepulcro.

Again the use of *corpus* as subject of *humo tegi* lends probability to the view that inhumation was in the mind of Mezentius. The request that he be allowed to share the *sepulcrum* of his son may seem to conflict with this interpretation, for the poet has already referred to the treatment of the body of young Lausus when he made Aeneas say (X, 827-8) to the dying boy:

arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.

However, the phrase *parentum manibus et cineri* need not imply literal cremation: it may well be merely a conventional expression for "the shades of your fathers,"⁶ or, again, an unconscious reflection of the speaker's own practice.

As we saw in Aen. XI, 184-202 the Trojan practice in war appears to have been cremation. The only reasons to doubt this are found in two passages at the beginning of Bk. XI: 1) vss. 2-3, where the poet describes the anxiety of Aeneas to dispose of the bodies of his *socii*:

Aeneas, quamquam et *sociis* dare tempus *humandis*
praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est,

2) vss. 22-3, where Aeneas himself is made to say:

interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae
mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.

In the first of these passages, where the poet himself is speaking, he probably follows what Cicero declares⁷ to be contempo-

⁶ Although the body of the murdered Sychaeus seems not to have been burned (Aen. I, 353), Dido says (IV, 552): *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaei!* and Anna has Sychaeus in mind when she asks (IV, 34): *id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos?* See, also, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* s. v. *cinis*, II *hominum crematorum reliquiae vel defunctorum manes*.

⁷ Et quod nunc communiter in omnibus sepultis venit usu, ut humati dicantur, id erat proprium tum in iis, quos humus iniecta contexerat,

rary usage, employing *humare* to designate any kind of burial; the choice of such a general term would be particularly happy because the *socii* of Aeneas include both cremating and inhuming peoples. Moreover, in the two other passages of the Aeneid⁹ where *humare* occurs the bodies in question are burned. As for *corpora mandare terrae*⁹ (XI, 22-3), its juxta-position with *inhumata* seems to reduce it to an equivalent of *humare*.

There are recorded in the Aeneid some deaths that do not occur in battle: on the Trojan side, those of Polydorus, Anchises, Misenus, Palinurus and Caieta; on the Latin side, that of Tarquitus. The lines (X, 556-7) devoted to Tarquitus imply inhumation:

istic nunc, metuende, iace. non te optima mater
condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro.

There is, also, in the eleventh book a reference to the tomb of an old Laurentine king, Dercennus, a mound of earth which is called *bustum* (850) and, presently (853), *tumulus*. With

eumque morem ius pontificale confirmat; nam priusquam in os iniecta gleba est, locus ille ubi crematum est corpus, nihil habet religionis: iniecta gleba † tum et illis humatus est, et gleba vocatur, ac tum denique multa religiosa iura complectitur . . . Cic. de Leg. II, 57. In his note on Aen. XI, 201 Servius uses *humare* of a person who has been cremated. However, Pliny (N. H. VII, 54) after explaining how the Romans came to substitute cremation for inhumation adds: *sepultus vero intellegitur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contextus*.

* 1) VI, 161, where the Sibyl is represented as using *humare* of a body which proves to be that of Misenus and which is ultimately cremated (cf. vss. 149-52; 176-82; 712-35); 2) X, 493, where Turnus grants the *solamen humandi* in the case of Pallas, whose body is afterwards sent home to be burned (X, 520; XI, 82). However, Turnus, as an inhuming Rutulian, may be using *humandi* literally and thus reflecting his own point of view, as Aeneas seems to have done regarding cremation in X, 827-8 and XI, 119.

* A similar expression, *mandare humo solita*, is used (IX, 213-5) by Nisus, when he begs young Euryalus not to run the risk of death:

sit qui me raptum pugna pretiove redemptum
mandet humo solita aut si qua id Fortuna vetabit,
absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro.

Neither here nor in the mother's lament (IX, 485-92) concerning the dishonored body of Euryalus is there any mention of burning but the omission is not necessarily significant.

bustum one normally associates burning¹⁰ but the word is also used in a wider sense for *sepulcrum*.¹¹ Vergil has employed *bustum* in only two other passages: 1) XI, 201, where it is unmistakably associated with burning, being used of a dying funeral-pyre; 2) XII, 863, where the small bird at night sits *in bustis aut culminibus desertis*.

As for the Trojans whose deaths did not occur in battle, the case of Polydorus (III, 22-68) is not significant for us because he was murdered in a foreign land. The body of Anchises would seem to have been burned and the ashes put in a *tumulus* (V, 31, 47-8, 55-7, 80-1; IV, 427). We have a full description of the burning of the body of Misenus and of the treatment of the ashes (VI, 177-82; 212-35). The body of Palinurus was lost (VI, 378-81). The brief account of Caieta (VII, 1-7) yields no certain evidence but it should be noted that *ossa* (VII, 3) may mean "ashes" (cf. VI, 228 and many inscriptions on cinerary urns).

The evidence, then, indicates that, in spite of metrical exigencies, Vergil was remarkably consistent in recognizing differences in primitive burial-customs; that he thought of Trojans and Arcadians as practising cremation but that he regarded the south Etruscans and the great bulk of the Latin allies as inhuming peoples. His view of the Trojan and Arcadian practice was, doubtless, influenced by Homer, for it does not seem probable that Vergil had stumbled on any evidence of cremation-graves in the Forum and associated them with Evander's settlement on the Palatine; at any rate, it is plain that Cicero¹² regards inhumation as the earliest practice at Rome. To what extent Vergil's contemporaries shared his belief in the differing funeral-rites of early Latium could only be determined by a careful examination of the literature of the Augustan Age; but, if one may cite a single case, there is not in Bk. I of Livy's history any evidence of that thoughtful discrimination of burial-customs which is unmistakable in the Aeneid.

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¹⁰ Cf. Paul. Fest., p. 32 and Servius *ad Aen.* XI, 201.

¹¹ Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s. v. *bustum*.

¹² *De Leg.* II, 56-8.

GOTHIC BARUSNJAN.

The verb *barusnjan* is found in but one passage of the Gothic Bible, viz. 1 Timothy 5, 4, where it serves to render the Greek infinitiv εὐσεβεῖν. Several words in this passage having been interpreted in various ways, I will first quote the original Greek text together with that of the Gothic translation, adding also for the sake of convenience that of the English (revised) version.

Εἰ δέ τις χήρα τέκνα ἢ ἔκγονα ἔχει, μανθανέτωσαν πρῶτον τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς προγόνοις.

Iþ jabai ho widuwono barna aiþþau barne barna habai, galaisjaina sik¹ faurþis swesana gard barusnjan jah andalauni usgiban fadreinam.

“But if any widow hath children or grandchildren, let them learn first to show piety towards their own family, and to requite their parents.”

It will be noticed that the English version agrees with Ulfilas (and with De Wette's translation) in taking the words τέκνα ἢ ἔκγονα to be the subject of μανθανέτωσαν, whereas most of the ancient commentators preferred to regard χῆραι as the subject. The latter interpretation survives to this day in the wording of the Latin Vulgate: *Si qua autem vidua filios aut nepotes habet: discat primum domum suam regere*, which is responsible for Luther's translation²: *So aber eine Widwe kinder oder Neffen hat, solche las zuuor lernen jre eigene Heuser göttlich regieren.*

In commenting on these different interpretations E. Bernhardt (*Vulfila oder die Gotische Bibel*. Halle 1875, p. 567) says concerning the verb *barusnjan*: “Das gotische Wort hängt mit *berusjos* schwerlich zusammen. . . . Über die Bedeutung lässt sich nichts bestimmtes sagen.” Taking into account, however, that Ulfilas' translation is based on the Greek text, we may expect the meaning of the Gothic verb to be identical with or at least similar to that of Greek εὐσεβεῖν, i. e., (c. acc.) ‘to reverence.’

¹ *sik* omitted in Ms. B.

² I am quoting literally from the critical edition by Bindseil and Niemeyer, Part VII, Halle 1855, p. 164.

Yet we cannot feel quite certain as to the exact meaning of the Gothic word unless we be able to find its etymon and to trace its origin. It is at this point that we experience the greatest difficulty. "*barusnjan* ehren, ein Wort dunkelen Ursprunges" was the verdict in 1896 of Uhlenbeck in his *Etym. Dictionary of the Gothic Language*, and "*barusnjan*, εὐσεβεῖν, fromm verehren. . . . Ohne Beziehungen innerhalb und ausserhalb des Germanischen" is that in 1923 of Feist in the 2nd edition of his *Etymol. Wörterbuch der Got. Sprache*. The latter has taken the trouble of compiling a list of suggestions made by various experts in Germanic etymology like A. Noreen, S. Bugge, Th. v. Grienberger, F. Holthausen, Falk & Torp. To this list the following items should be added:

1) W. W. Skeat, *A Mæso-Gothic Glossary* (Lo., 1868) s. v. *barusnjan* (i. e., 'to honour as a child should do, to show filial piety'): "Perhaps we should read *barnusjan*." (This conjecture may be traced back to Maszmann's vocabulary to his edition of the Gothic Bible.)

2) E. Bernhardt, *Vulfila oder die Gotische Bibel* (Halle 1875), l. c., is inclined to connect the Gothic verb with the Greek comparativ φέρτερος.

3) Rud. Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* (Leipzig, 1900; Sammlung Göschen) p. 46 would derive *barusnjan* from an adjectiv **baru-* meaning 'heavy, venerable,' and borrowed by the Goths from a Celtic language. While unable to agree with Much as to the Celtic origin of the Gothic word, I believe that in some other respects his explanation means a step in the right direction. (See below.)

The situation may appear to be desperate. *Quot capita, tot sensus*. We naturally ask: Is the solution of the problem merely a matter of guess-work? or may we hope to gain at least somewhere a safe foothold that will enable us to find our way out of the difficulty?

The way toward a correct analysis of the mysterious Gothic verb has been pointed out, it seems to me, many years ago by Leo Meyer in his well-known work *Die Gotische Sprache* (Berlin, 1869), pp. 177 and 566. In comparing the interior suffix of the verb *barusnjan* with that of the noun *filusna* f. 'fullness, abundance,' Meyer is led to the conclusion that the former is derived from a noun **barusna*, based on an adjectiv **baru* in

the same manner in which *filusna* is based on the familiar Gothic adjectiv *filu* (identical with Mod. German *viel*, Middle High German *vil*). This view met with the approval of Ernst Bernhardt (l. c.) and later on with that of Rich. Much (see above). There is, indeed, no reason why we should hesitate to accept it.

To be sure, there remains a difference between the two adjectives held by Leo Meyer to be parallel formations, in that *filu* is a current Gothic word, whereas we look in vain for a Gothic adjectiv **baru-*. While this fact would not necessarily militate against regarding the verb *barusnjan* as a native Gothic word, yet it is more favorable perhaps to Much's opinion, who would claim it as a loan word. But why a loan word from Celtic? I am not even convinced that an adjectiv **baru* really existed in Celtic. Instead of operating merely with an alleged primitiv Celtic word, Much should have quoted in addition the forms actually found in the modern or ancient Celtic tongues on which he has relied for his reconstruction. May be he had in mind the words cited by Stokes, *Urkeit. Sprachschatz* (= Fick's *Vergl. Wtb.*⁴, Bd. 2. Göttingen 1894) p. 186 as descended from a primitiv Celtic adjectiv **bru-* 'strong.' This at least is the nearest approach, I have been able to discover, to his theory.

But even if Much's Celtic adjectiv **baru-* were better attested than it appears to be, I should feel inclined to ask: "Warum in die Ferne schweifen? Sieh, das Gute liegt so nah!" In the adjectiv *βαρύς* the Greek language possesses a word identical both in form and in meaning with that looked for by Much in the ancient Celtic vocabulary. Considering that in Gothic loans from Celtic are at best scarce, whereas there are plenty of words taken over from Greek, we need not hesitate to put *barusnjan* into the latter category.

A word of additional comment may not be out of place concerning the meaning of the Gothic verb and that of the Greek adjectiv from which it seems to have originated.

Stress must be laid above all on the fact that in this instance the word *εὐσεβῆν* has a somewhat different meaning from that in which it is generally used. Like the adj. *εὐσεβής*, (adv. *εὐσεβῶς* = Goth. *ga-gudaba*), and the noun *εὐσέβεια* (= Goth. *ga-gudei*) it embodies, as a rule, the notion of piety, in the sense of religious devoutness or reverence toward God. Quite prop-

erly then the Gothic translator has rendered them in most instances by words containing the stem *gud(a)-*, identical with the English word *god*, German *Gott*, etc. Like the corresponding English words *pious* and *piety*, however, the Greek words may be used in a more general sense, and more especially that of filial honor and obedience as due to parents or superiors. In the passage in question this sense is so pronounced that a different word had to be resorted to from those containing the element *gud(a)-*. Naturally then the translator replaced the word for 'god' by a term embodying the notion of authority and superiority. A verb derived from a term of this description will easily gain the meaning of the English verb 'to reverence,' which has been defined as: 'to regard with a feeling of profound respect often mingled with awe and affection.'

Greek *βαρύς* is descended from the same Indo-European adjectiv to which Sanskrit *gurú-s*, Latin *gravis* and Gothic *kauru-s*³ are known to belong. The notion shared in common by these adjectives is that of heaviness or weight. Consequently, *gravis* generally serves in the Latin translations and *kaurus*⁴ in the Gothic version to render the Greek *βαρύς*. One of the many secondary meanings arising in the various I.-Eur. languages from this general notion is that seen in *barusnjan*. We are at once reminded by this verb of a familiar use of the Latin words *gravis* and *gravitas*, namely 'of weight or authority, dignified, eminent' and 'weight, dignity, importance' respectively. Let one example suffice, Plaut. Trin. 684 (= III, 2, 58): *numquam erit alienis gravis qui suis se concinnat levem*.

Similarly the adjectiv *gurú-s* has in Classical Sanskrit (not however in the Vedic language) sometimes the meaning 'im-

³ The only inflected form of this adjectiv occurring in what is left to us of the Gothic Bible is the nominativ plur. fem. *kaurjos* (2 Cor. 10, 10). The question as to the probable ending of the nom. sing. masc. need not trouble us here.

⁴ As stated above, an inflected form of this adjectiv happens to be found in our fragmentary text of the Gothic Bible in only one instance. Four other passages in which such forms occur in the Greek text (Math. 23, 4; Acts 20, 29; 25, 7; 1 John 5, 3) belong to the lost portions. Other words belonging here—in addition to the adjectiv and adverb—are: *kaurjan* = *βαρεῖν*, *ἐπιβαρεῖν*, *καταβαρεῖν*, *βαρὺν εἶναι*, *βαρύνειν*; *anakaurjan* *ἐπιβαρεῖν*; *kauriþa* *βάρος*; *kaureins* *βάρος*: *inunkaureinom* (D. pl., 2 Cor. 11, 9) *ἀβαρῆ* (adj., A. sg. m.).

portant, weighty, of much account, venerable'; and in the function of a noun 'venerable or highly respected person: father, mother or elder relative, esp. teacher' (Macdonell's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 85).

In Greek the use in a similar sense of the adj. βαρύ-s and the abstract noun βάρος seems to be restricted to the post-classical period and chiefly to authors familiar with both Greek and Latin, like Polybios, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch. This, however, may be entirely accidental and does not necessarily imply that in this instance these authors were influenced by their knowledge of Latin. We may just as well assume that we are concerned with a purely Greek innovation originating with the people rather than in the literary language, yet in course of time admitted into the latter.

However this may be, it is more essential for our purpose to point out that the peculiar development seen in Latin, Sanskrit and later Greek has not apparently taken place in Gothic, whereas it has left its mark on the New Testament Greek. What attitude was the translator to take in order to meet the situation?

The passage, unfortunately, on which we would chiefly depend for an answer to this question, is lacking in our fragmentary text of the Gothic Bible. I am referring to 1 Thess. 2, 6, δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, i. e. when we might have claimed honour (or reverence) as apostles of Christ. (Weizsäcker, *Das NT. übersetzt*; 6.-7. Aufl. Freiburg, Mohr, p. 385: "wir konnten uns in die Brust werfen als Apostel Christus.") This passage not having been correctly translated in the Vulgate and by many other translators we are not quite sure that Ulfilas would have hit on the correct translation. At all events the noun βάρος here is in full accord with *baru-* contained in the loan word *barusnjan*.

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REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE XLVIII (1924), 1-4.

Pp. 5-22. T. Walek, Nouveaux archontes athéniens du III^e siècle. The author, after noting the lack of chronological certainty in the history of the third century before Christ and the result that the sequence of events and their causal relationship remains also uncertain, proceeds to discuss an inscription supplying valuable information for the chronology of the Athenian archons of the third century. The document, an honor-conferring decree, contains a list of six archons which M. Walek examines at length, discussing and criticizing a study thereon by M. Gaetano de Sanctis. Finally M. Walek supplies the list of archons (and their dates) which would be found in the inscription were it intact. This article should be read in connection with the following article by the same scholar.

Pp. 23-30. T. Walek, Les opérations navales pendant la guerre lamiaque. M. Walek would remove the obscurity that has hitherto veiled the naval operations in this struggle of Athens against Macedonian domination. It is an interpretation of the passage in Diodorus: οὗτος (sc. Κλεῖτος) δὲ ναυμαχίᾳς πρὸς Ἡετίωνα τὸν Ἀθηναίων ναύαρχον ἐνίκησε δυσὶν ναυμαχίαις καὶ συχνὰς τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν διέφθειρε περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Ἐχινάδας νήσους. M. Walek believes we have here three engagements. First Kleitus defeats the Athenian fleet at Abydos under Eetion whose presence in the straits had prevented the passage into Europe of the troops of Leonnatus which was effected about March 322 right after the battle, the troops reaching Thessaly about May. Kleitus at once sailed against the Athenian fleet blockading the Macedonian fleet in the Melian gulf, and surprised and practically annihilated it. Next he sailed against the refitted fleet of Eetion defeating it finally at Amorgus in June 322. This view interprets the passage to the effect that Kleitus defeated Eetion in two battles whose locality is not mentioned and destroyed a great number of enemy ships near the Echinades. As these islands are at the mouth of the Achelous M. Walek thinks Schaefer's conjecture, Λιχάδας, highly probable, since the Λιχάδες are in the Melian Gulf where the second battle took place.

P. 30. Louis Havet, *Stilla*, étoile. M. Havet notes that *e* in *stella* is long. Hence, just as *luciscit* occurs for *lucescit* in Terence Ht. 410, we have the form *stilla*. So these forms require interpretation rather than correction.

Pp. 31-43. J. Marouzeau, *Mots longs et mots courts*. A suggestive and fascinating study which as the work of an artist will appeal to all students of literary art. The author notes various qualities of words—the mere meaning, the imaginative and emotional color, their sphere, as of high or low society, or different social groups etc. He finds that a word to achieve an effect by its mere length should be reinforced by the proximity of another long word. Not only the length but the make-up of the word matters, so it should be a unit, not merely grammatical, but of elements of intrinsic value resulting in enrichment of meaning, visualization, and feeling. Again long words, giving an impression of duration and extent, may be uttered so as to give an impression of rapidity. In the use of short words we find that pronouncing them rapidly diminishes their volume still more and gives an effect of puniness (*ridiculus mus*), that pronouncing them slowly gives an effect of fullness, weight (*aquae mons*). In fine, both long and short words are expressive only if the writer has an eye to what they are fitted to express. They furnish constant opportunity to achieve the delicate adaptation of form to content.

P. 43. Louis Havet, *Phèdre*, 4, 19, 19. M. Havet would replace "canibus" in this line by "cunctis."

Pp. 44-49. A. Meillet, *Le sens de γενήσομαι à propos de Parménide 141*. In this paper M. Meillet would derive from this passage, where Plato by opposing one form to another renders his thought with the utmost precision, those finer shades of grammatical value that are elusive even in a living language. Being which endures in the past, future or present is expressed by ἦν, ἔσται, ἔστι; as a finished process by γέγονε (ποτε), γενήσεται, γέγονε (νῦν); as a process in the future, by ἐγίγνετο, γενηθήσεται, γίγνεται. Plato had to devise γενηθήσεται to express with precision the process of becoming conceived as in the future, a form unique in Greek. M. Meillet finds Plato hampered by Greek having no grammatical distinction between an aorist future and a 'futur duratif' and that he reveals by recourse to an expedient that he was cognizant of a form avoided by him in his writings, which suggests that the spoken Attic was less removed from Ionic and the later κοινή than the puristic language of the cultivated Athenians.

Pp. 50-51. L. Laurand, *Sur un passage des Pronostics de Cicéron*. The author in commenting on the *De Divinatione* edited by Mr. Arthur Pease suggests that certain passages from recent meteorological treatises might be cited by way of commentary and illustrates this suggestion. He thinks that the statements of ancient science on this subject have but a slight

place in actual meteorology, but they are not set aside by modern science.

Pp. 52-61. L. Bayard, *Les clausules chez Saint Cyprien et le cursus rythmique*. This paper is a study in general of the evolution of clausulae from the metrical and mainly quantitative phase to the phase where the accent was predominant and the term cursus was applied to them; more specifically a study of the later aspect of the cursus and its relation to the clausulae of Saint Cyprien. M. Bayard finds the beginning of this evolution in Cicero himself. It is due to the coincidence of long quantity (temps fort) with accent, and of the presence of a caesura midway between two accents, that the limit is evolved within which the accent will rule alone some centuries later and where the metrical clausulae will be replaced by the rhythmic cursus. The metrical prose of Saint Cyprien in the light of Cicero's theory and technique evinces preference along the lines of this evolution. In short, the hexameters of Commodian written with scant regard to quantity are to the classic hexameter what the cursus is to the metrical clausulae.

Pp. 62-76. Louis Havet, *Étude de critique verbale*. *Les passages parallèles dans l'Ilias Latina*. This is an exposition of method; of scientific criticism. M. Havet points out that when literature passes from the recited to the written word, an author of aesthetic sensibility would seek variety in the expression of repeated phrases, whereas the copyist, less sensitive and confined to a more limited view, would evince a tendency to make things uniform, repeating at times a word already copied or perhaps not yet copied but seen by glancing ahead. M. Havet believes this principle of variation should govern not only the correction of corrupt passages, but the choice of variants. The parallels cited and their handling illustrate this contention at length. It may be noted that aesthetic or other criteria may be used within the limits of the application of the principle. Further, the statistical study of alliterations like "*pectora plangunt*" shows that while it might be rash to infer that the author avoided such alliterations of the fifth and sixth foot, it would be safer to conclude that he did not seek such and that the statistics do not validate the variants "*pectora plangunt*" and "*corpore coniunx*."

Pp. 77-96. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

Pp. 97-111. Franz Cumont, *Le plus ancien parchemin grec*. This is a description of a parchment discovered in the ancient Doura-Europus in the autumn of 1922, together with a transcription of the text, a translation and an attractive and instructive commentary. This document, the bill of sale of a parcel of land,—which bill contains a redemption clause making

it germane to a modern mortgage,—dates, M. Cumont points out, from the 117th year of the era of the Seleucids, or more accurately from July 195 B. C. M. Cumont comments on the paleographic value of so early a MS. and on the light it sheds on the relation between the Greco-Syrian and Greco-Egyptian law and expresses hope that the arid sands of Syria will disclose parchments that may render possible the reconstruction of the economic and administrative systems of the Seleucid Empire.

Pp. 112-116. K. van der Heyde, *L'origine de la conjonction "dum."* M. van der Heyde approves of the view of M. Löfstedt who defines the primitive sense of this word by *jam*, *nunc* or another temporal adverb, stating that this interpretation explains the transition from adverb to conjunction and also the twofold meaning of "while" and "until." He attempts to define clearly from the usage of Plautus the primitive sense of "dum" and to resolve the problem of its evolution. He attributes to the early word the power of emphasizing present time expressed by the temporal adverb or imperative to which it is suffixed. Comparing "*Mane dum narro*" (Mil. 1404) and "*Manete dum ego huc redeo*" (Rud. 879), he finds parataxis changed to hypotaxis in which "dum" has become the needed "hyphen," the conjunction.

Pp. 117-123. Georges Romain, *A propos de Virgile, Georgiques, III, 416-439.* A charming and suggestive appreciation of the subtleties of Vergilian art and its use of contrasts. The first section deals with the viper and snake that seek the shadow and the serpent of Calabria that leaps into full sunlight. "It is an effect of shadow and light." The second section pictures the peasant who first gazes down at the tiny ant and then up at the great rainbow, and watches the signs that are the forerunners of rain. Then comes the contrast in black and white in the plumage of the birds, the contrast of gregariousness and isolation, of sound and silence, motion and rest. In the third section M. Romain discusses the tradition of the suppression in the fourth Georgic of the passage on Gallus and, noting that the Georgics are a poem embracing the entire habitable earth, shows that the episode of Aristaeus is in effect a contrast of two other kingdoms, that of the waters, whose marvels man's imagination alone may disclose to him, and that of the lower world, whose very idea besieges his spirit with dread images and which awaits his soul after death.

Pp. 124-127. Louis H. Gray, *Essai de restitution de quelques lacunes dans les drames d'Eschyle.* An attempt to restore lost portions of the text of the choral passages by an attentive and judicious handling of the hints and vague suggestions to be

found in the scholiasts. In Prometheus 407 supply *παμβρομός*; in Prometheus 541 supply *αὑθαιρέτως*; in Prometheus 550-551 supply *γ' οἶμαι* before *τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν*; in Prometheus 576 supply *δύσει*; in Persians 571 supply *τεθνώτας*; in Persians 862 supply *πανταχῇ*; in Persians 983 supply *καὶ νέκυν ἄπνουν*; in VII con. Thebas 161 reconstruct *καὶ Διόθεν* —υυυυ

καὶ Διόθεν ἄμ—
μι δοτέον.

In VII con. Thebas 891 supply *βέλεσι διάτοροι*; in Suppliants 575 supply *ὑψίστοισι γ' ἀνάσσει*; in Choëphori 369 supply *καὶ σφιν*. The references to lines are to the Teubner text.

Pp. 127-130. J. E. Harry, *Quatre corrections à Eschyle*. Agamemnon 288, for *πύκη* read *πέφρικε*. Agamemnon 1595, Professor Harry makes two changes in this line, writing:

ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνὰ δράκας καθείμενος (*sic*)
ἄσημ'.

Supplikes 296, for *παλλαγμάτων* read *πόλλ' ἰλαγμάτων*. Persae 815, Professor Harry abandons the reading of Schütz and its justification: "Imago enim petita est ex natura vasculi aut putei, qui non prius exhauritur, quam ad fundum perveneris," and reads:

κοῦδέπω κακῶν
κρηνὶς ὑπεστὶν ἄλλ' ἔτ' ἐπίπεδ' ὕεται.

Pp. 131-139. L. A. Constans, *Notes critiques et historiques sur quelques passages de César De Bello Gallico*. M. Constans, comparing his own text of VII, 75, with that of Meusel, brackets "totidem Lemouicibus" and restores "Lemouices" further on, rejecting the corrections of Nipperdey and Mommsen. He brackets "Senonibus" with Nipperdey (or its correction by Hoffmann "sena Andibus") and writes "— Boiis singula; XX —." He thinks Caesar, had he referred to the two separate peoples known as 'Lemovices,' would have distinguished them and would be unlikely to mention the one people in this enumeration twice. He also thinks a levy of 10,000 would be large for the Lemovices of Limousin. He explains the error in the first case by a scribe writing "totidem" into the text by misunderstanding the reader and a critic filling the supposed lacuna with the name of an important Celtic people. Comparing the number of Gauls effective for service in his own text and in that of Meusel, M. Constans totals 254,000 against 290,000 of Meusel. He finds his own tally supported by Caesar in the next chapter and also by Florus and Orosius. Citing the three chapters mentioning the 'Lemovices' as those of Brittany, M. Constans discusses the third citation (VII, 88): "*Sedulius dux et prin-*

ceps Lemouicum occiditur," the reading of an inferior MS β , where δ reads "Asedulus" and "remus." M. Constans suggests a text:

SEDVLLVS DUX ET PRINCEPS
AREMORICORVM OCCIDITVR

attesting the form "Sedullus" from a coin and assuming an archetype of twenty-letter lines for α and a text, prior to that, of thirty-letter lines. These assumptions account for the readings of α and β and his own correction and if verified "we would be provided with a valuable key for the criticism of the Commentaries."

Pp. 140-143. H. Jacoubet, *Emendationes Livianae*. This paper pertains to the episode of Sophonisba and the final struggle between Scipio and Hannibal in Bk. XXX. In chap. XI, 9 and 10 the author, thinking Riemann's conjecture "torpere" weakens and contradicts "turbari," prefers the MS text and, should one not admit "properare," he would return to Lemaire's text "propere turbati." In chap. XII, 3 he would place "Cirta caput regni Syphacis erat, eoque se ingens hominum contulit vis" before 8 and in that case read "contulerat." In chap. XII, 8 he suggests that the subjunctive "datus esset," where the indicative "est" seems required, is perhaps the real reading, suspecting in this usage a trace of the Patavinity ascribed to Livy by Pollio. In chap. XII, 17, "genua modo," Riemann's conjecture, seems all the more seductive when we compare 13, but M. Jacoubet would conserve the ancient text with the sense: "she had only to touch his hand for the inflammable Numidian to . . ." In chap. XXXI, 1, . . . "ab aura adventus tui spei Carthaginienses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse . . ." M. Jacoubet would suppress "spei" as useless and heavy. In chap. XXXIV, 5, "apud hostes etc." it is not a question of manoeuvre but fact, and the nice precision of Livy's description is thrown into striking clearness by the comment of M. Jacoubet.

Pp. 144-148. E. Cavaignac, *La désignation des archontes Athéniens jusqu'en 487*. An attempt to derive from Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* more certainty in regard to the election of archons. The author, after suggesting that the candidates were drawn not only from the *πεντακοσιομέδμητοι* but also from the Knights, discusses the *κλήρωσις ἐκ προκρίτων*, the drawing lots for candidates previously examined. Aristotle could still read the law of Solon in regard to the lot, while the exercise of the election passed from the Areopagus to the tribal assemblies and took on a democratic character. The relative importance of these two functions is the point at issue. M. Cavaignac sees the importance of the election in the number of influential men

in the archonship from 510 to 487 and thinks also that the power of the lot is shown by the failure of Cleisthenes and Miltiades to get the office. The reform of 487-6 is now clear. "It was decided this year," says Aristotle, "that the archons should be drawn from the 500 *προκριθέντες* by the *δημόται*. The election was reduced to eliminating unpopular or unworthy candidates and the lot became master of the situation. The cause of the reform was the dislike of the people for an office that was the prize and stimulus of aristocratic contentions; the result of the reform was that the archonship lost all political importance.

Pp. 149-157. Gustavus Przychocki, Plautina. In the prologue of the *Poenulus* (v. 53-54) M. Przychocki would read

53 'Καρχηδόσιος' vocatur haec comoedia

53a <'Alexidis' (?) Graece; eadem postid denuo>

54 Latine Plauti 'Patruos Pultiphagonidis,'

assuming a lost line where Plautus jestingly refers to himself mingling Greek and Latin as was his wont.

II. Bacchides (v. 213-15). The author thinks the jest on Pellio a friendly one. There was no break between play-wright and actor and the date deduced for the play on the assumption of such a break must be rejected.

III. A discussion of the Plautine prologues and the poet's preference for those spoken by divinities and particular characters and his avoidance of the so-called 'Roman prologues.'

IV. An attempt to fix dates in regard to the composition of the *Annals* of Ennius from the parody found in the *Pseudolus* (v. 703-5) on the famous alliterative line of Ennius (*Anal.* v. 109 Vahl.) and from the passage in Cicero's *Brutus* (XV, 58).

Pp. 157-158. G. Dottin, Note sur le texte de Darès de Phrygie. M. Dottin believes that Meister's text has been established on too conservative principles and that it should be revised and more use made of G, the MS of Saint-Gall.

XLVII, No. 3. Classified list of reviews that appeared in 1921 and 1922. By J. Marouzeau.

XLVII, No. 4. Classified report on articles published in periodicals in 1921 and 1922. By J. Marouzeau.

XLVIII, No. 2. Classified list of reviews that appeared in 1923. By J. Marouzeau.

XLVIII, No. 4. Classified report on articles published in periodicals in 1923. By J. Marouzeau.

C. V. B. WIGHT.

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ROMANIA, VOL. L, Nos. 1-4.

Pp. 1-13. Chesley Martin Hutchings, *L'Anticlaudianus* d'Alain de Lille; étude de chronologie. After discussing general chronological questions connected with this well-known author, the writer of the present article investigates more especially the date of the above-mentioned work. His conclusion is that it was written in the second half of the year A. D. 1182, or the first half of the year A. D. 1183.

Pp. 14-53. Arthur Långfors, *Le Miroir de vie et de mort* par Robert de l'Omme (1266), modèle d'une moralité wallonne du XVe siècle. Deuxième et dernier article. II.—Analyse du poème. III.—Description des manuscrits. IV.—La langue de l'auteur. V.—Dialecte et graphie du manuscrit G. VI.—La composition du poème.—Les prologues.—L'auteur et la date. VII.—Les miniatures.—Les vers latins. VIII.—La Moralité wallonne. The poet has a dream in which the various virtues and vices appear in a personified form. He awakens suddenly and records what he remembers of his dream. This was in the year A. D. 1266, at the beginning of the summer season. After a detailed discussion of the many points of interest connected with the poem, the writer appends numerous corrections to the edition of the derived *Moralité des sept péchés mortels*.

Pp. 54-93. Lucien Foulet, *L'Accent tonique et l'ordre des mots*. Formes faibles du pronom personnel après le verbe. The author does not agree with Rydberg as to the general development of the French language in the field here considered, although their views coincide as to many minor points. He hesitates between declension and accent as the primary cause of the modern definite forms as developed out of the earlier variable phrases, but considers the former to be the more probable after the analysis of numerous concrete examples.

Pp. 94-110. Mélanges:—G. G. Nicholson, Franç. Gars, Garçon; prov. Gartz, Garson (> ital. Garzone, espagn. Garzon, portug. Garção).—J. Anglade, Sur Savaric de Mauléon.—F. Lot, *L'Épée de Lancelot du Lac*.—F. Lot, Floudehveg.—R. Fawtier et E. C. Fawtier-Jones, Note sur un Légendier français conservé dans la Bibliothèque du Chapitre de Carlisle.

Pp. 111-160. Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique.

Pp. 161-194. Albert Pauphilet, Sur la *Chanson d'Isembart*. This article aims to disprove the theory concerning the poem advanced by M. Bédier in recent years in conformity with his general theory of the origin of French epics. It would establish rather the probability of the imaginative account of an old poet being the source of the various historical accounts referring to Gormund and Isembart which have been preserved to our time.

This poem would then be the exception which proves the rule, as it were.

Pp. 195-232. P. Skok, *Notes d'étymologie romane*. Under some fifteen headings a large number of etymological questions affecting Romance words are here discussed, especial attention being paid to those in French and Italian which are based on Gallic primitives.

Pp. 233-265. Pio Ragna, *Varietà provenzali* (suite). IV. Bertran de Born nelle bricchiere di un canzoniere provenzale. V. Bertran de Born e una favola esopica. VI. I due Pianti per la morte del Re Giovane. Two scraps of parchment probably removed from the binding of some book contain fragments of the works of Bertran de Born, which the learned author of the present article compares minutely with the previously known manuscripts. It was no doubt in the fifteenth century that the precious original manuscript was dismembered at a time when the Provençal poetry of earlier date was in disrepute and almost wholly neglected. The Aesopic fable would seem to have been derived from the well-known collection of Gualterus Anglicus, and the date of the latter's composition would thus be in part better established as anterior to the date of Bertran de Born's poem. The article closes with a discussion of troubadour chronology.

Pp. 266-277. *Mélanges*:—J. Jud, *Vfrç. Larece*.—Arthur Långfors, *Couplets sur le mariage*.

Pp. 278-320. *Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique*.

Pp. 321-385. Edmond Faral, *Le fabliau latin au moyen âge*. Under eight headings a number of mediaeval stories are here investigated and classed in the same category as the well-known French tales. The general conclusion reached is that these stories are an intermediate stage of development between the comedies of Plautus and Terence and the fabliaus of the late middle ages. In order to investigate this question more thoroughly it would be well to include the Italian and English stories within the range covered; but the author of this article has not thus far ventured into so extensive a field.

Pp. 386-412. E. Philippon, *Ö et O + I accentués dans les parlers d'oïl*; esquisse de géographie dialectale. The chief difficulty encountered in this investigation was the lack of trustworthy information as to the exact pronunciation of the vowel sounds in question, owing to the fact that both the early orthography and the rhymes fail the investigator in this special field. A minute examination, however, of the orthography used in the earliest local documents gives a sufficient clue for the construc-

tion of at least a plausible theory of the development which took place in Northern France.

Pp. 413-426. E. Hoepffner, Une ballade d'Eustache Deschamps. This ballad was previously known from the two large Deschamps manuscripts at Paris, but its occurrence in a Latin manuscript as well would go to prove its great popularity, as it is seldom the case that three copies of any of the author's poems have been preserved to our day. The mediaeval author himself has put on record the fact that his friends frequently came to him for copies of his poems, sometimes even to his annoyance at their importunity.

Pp. 427-438. *Mélanges*:—Alfred L. Foulet, Les sources de la continuation Rothelin de l'Eracles. A. Jeanroy, Réminiscences de Fierabras dans le Jeu de Saint Nicolas de Jean Bodel.

Pp. 439-452. *Discussions*:—Ernest Muret, Noms de lieu celtiques en Suisse.

Pp. 453-480. *Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique.*

Pp. 481-498. Johan Vising, Observations sur les nombres ordinaux des langues romanes. I. Observations préliminaires. II. Observations spéciales. III. Conclusions. Primitive races do not feel the need of ordinal numbers, but as civilization advances they come more and more into use. The Romance languages show a portion of this gradual increase in the use of ordinals. It is to be noted, furthermore, that dialects as a rule make very sparing use of them as compared with literary forms of language. As a general result of this it is seen that a very complicated system has been developed in all the languages derived from Latin.

Pp. 499-514. J. Morawski, Locutions et proverbes obscurs. Many of the Old French proverbs that have come down to us present difficulties of interpretation. Thirty-nine such proverbs are here discussed, although many problems concerning them still remain unsolved. Dr. Blondheim was able to suggest to the author a meaning for the proverb "Se bech y a faucille seit," the exact meaning of which had hitherto remained obscure.

Pp. 515-540. G. Lozinski, Remarques sur l'origine du préfixe français mes-, me-. The traditional theory has been that Latin *minus* was the origin of this common prefix, but in recent years scholars have been inclined to consider it rather to be of Germanic origin, as examples of it are found already in the Gothic Bible. The results of this investigation would tend to show that the latter hypothesis is correct, and that the more southern Romance languages felt its effect but little.

Pp. 541-581. D. S. Blondheim, Les parlers judéo-romans et

la *Vetus Latina*. Les éléments communs à la tradition juive et à la *Vetus Latina*: leurs origines. 1. Le style de la *Vetus Latina*. 2. La méthode de traduction. 3. Emploi du latin vulgaire dans la *Vetus Latina*. 4. Mots bibliques communs aux deux religions. 5. Autres éléments de la tradition linguistique juive. [6]. Conclusions. Certain resemblances in the linguistic forms found in these ancient works would point to considerable Jewish influence in the translating of this early Latin version of the Bible. Upon it in turn the *Vulgate* is based; and the latter exercised considerable influence upon the various Romance languages, especially the French.

Pp. 582-590. D. S. Blondheim, Additions et corrections au "Vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs au moyen âge." With the assistance of several friends the author has gathered information about a large number of words showing Jewish influence concerning which Phelipe Sio de San Miguel reports in his edition of the *Vulgate* from manuscripts in the Escorial library.

Pp. 591-604. Mélanges:—Paul Verrier, Fr. Amour "mélilot." —J. Anglade, Les miniatures des chansonniers provençaux.

Pp. 605-640. Comptes rendus. Périodiques. Chronique. Table des matières.

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REVIEWS

Q. Horati Flacci Carmina. Odes, Épodes, et Chant Séculaire: publiés par Frédéric PLESSIS. Librairie Hachette: Paris, 1924. Pp. lxxviii + 396. 35 fr.

The name of Frédéric PLESSIS, when prefixed to a study of Latin poetry, is in itself sufficient to commend it to many American scholars. Himself a poet, he seems to speak with especial authority. This new volume of Hachette's "Collection des Éditions Savantes" is a model of broad scholarship, sound judgment, clearness, fairness and good taste. One timely sentence may be quoted, on Horace's "lack of originality":

Il n'en est pas moins injuste de refuser à Horace l'invention, parce qu'il a eu des modèles: quel homme a donc créé, c'est-à-dire fait de rien quoi que ce soit? Signaler ça et là une communauté d'images, une ressemblance de tour de style avec Alcée ou tel autre Grec, c'est se livrer à un travail de références qui peut avoir son intérêt: ce n'est supprimer ni la majeure partie des idées et des sentiments qui appartiennent à Horace et à Rome, ni l'exécution, c'est-à-dire l'art de la composition et du style, ni la beauté plastique des vers, ni toute la couleur latine de l'ensemble.

The editor has read and considered practically everything which has been written on the interpretation of the Odes. It is pleasant to note that the excellent American edition by Clement L. Smith has at last met with some of the foreign recognition it deserves.

There are two or three misprints in the text: forte, for fortes, Od. i, 7, 30; Qui, for Quid, iii. 29, 27; parum, for parumne, Epod. vii. 3. In Od. ii. 12, 28, occupat is given in the text, occupet explained in the note.

On Od. i. 3, 22, Professor PLESSIS boggles at the active meaning of dissociabili, on the ground that Horace wrote absceidit, not discidit. He feels that Oceano must be an ablative of separation, because Ovid had, caelo terras et terris absceidit undas, Met. i. 22. But Virgil could write, Aen. iii. 418, venit medio vi pontus et undis Hesperium Siculo latus absceidit.

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Tibulle et les Auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum. Texte établi et traduit par Max PONCHONT. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles-Lettres," 1924. Pp. xlv + 380.

The principal interest of this edition lies in its convenient résumé of the work done on the text of Tibullus since the ap-

pearance of Hiller's edition in 1885. It thus takes into account the work of Postgate, Vahlen, Cartault, Havet, and Calonghi. The editor is laudably conservative; his aim is to explain and defend the traditional text. In an analysis of each poem, he studies Tibullus' method of developing his theme, and is thus led to reject most of the transpositions and lacunae suggested by his predecessors. There are too many misprints: i. 3, 74-75; i. 9, 64-67; ii. 5, 43; ii. 6, 49; ii. 6, 51; iii. 2, 20; iii. 4, 18; iii. 4, 71; iv. 2, 2.

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Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius, erklärt von Max ROTHSTEIN.
Zweiter Teil, Drittes und Viertes Buch, Zweite Auflage.
Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924. 406 pp. M.
7.50.

This volume completes the second edition of a well-known commentary on Propertius (see A. J. P. XLV 395-96). One important feature of Dr. ROTHSTEIN's work is its wealth of illustrative and explanatory matter. Few of his readers will ask for more, but there are still one or two passages to which he might have offered parallels. For example, the fancy in iv. 11, 95, *quod mihi detractum est, vestros accedat ad annos*, might be compared with Tibullus, i. 6, 63-64 (with K. F. Smith's note, and the further parallels quoted in A. J. P. XXXVII 141-43). A special word of praise is due to the excellent index.

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The Ocean of Story. Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara. Now edited with introduction, fresh explanatory notes and terminal essay. By N. M. Penzer . . . In Ten Volumes. London: Privately printed for subscribers only by Chas. J. Sawyer Ltd. Vol. 1, 1924; Vol. 2, 1924; Vol. 3, 1925.

The Kathā Sarit Sāgara is unquestionably one of the masterpieces of Sanskrit literature. Its author, Somadeva, was a literary artist of high rank. Moreover his art appeals to westerners more than that of many equally renowned Hindu authors. For his style is as simple and lucid as it is graceful. He has none of the artificiality and complexity which (to the reviewer's taste, at least) mar so many Sanskrit poems.

The Kathā Sarit Sāgara is also one of the longest works of Hindu fiction. The main story is almost forgotten at times in the great mass of emboxed themes, which touch hands at one point or another with almost everything else in the same field. In running down any well-known story or any motif of Hindu story-literature, one is almost certain to be brought into contact with this encyclopedic work.

Somadeva was fortunate in his English translator, Charles H. Tawney, whose rendering was published in the Bibliotheca Indica, 1880 and 1884. Tawney was a man of excellent taste as well as a good Sanskritist. He steers a sure and true course between literalism and modernism, and gives us a dignified and attractive version which retains just the right amount of the tang of the original.

This translation, the only complete one in any European language, has long been out of print. It is now being reprinted by Mr. Penzer in a form more worthy of its qualities than the original form. It is to comprise ten large volumes instead of two. The externals are sumptuous; paper, type, and binding are a delight to the eyes. It is, indeed, clearly intended for bibliophiles; hence "privately printed for subscribers only." It will doubtless be appreciated by those who can afford it. We cannot help regretting, however, that these features have been allowed to raise the price beyond the purchasing power of most scholars.

Mr. Penzer reprints Tawney's translation mainly without change. However, he restores a few passages which were omitted in deference to Victorian prudery; and he has taken account of many superior text-readings found in Durgaprasad's edition, which has appeared since Tawney's time.

But Mr. Penzer's principal contributions are found in his Notes and Appendices. In them he gives us the benefit of his extensive acquaintance with the story-literature of the world, and with scientific writings on the subject. Since, as I said, Somadeva's range is very wide, this work, when completed, will be an indispensable reference-book for all future investigations in fiction-themes and fiction-motifs. Relatively short discussions are placed in footnotes, longer ones at the ends of the several chapters or of the volumes. Of special interest and importance are the Appendices on "Poison-Damsels" and on "Sacred Prostitution." That on the *Dohada* or "Pregnancy-Craving" is entirely based on Bloomfield's article (*JAOS* 40. 1-24). In general the work of Bloomfield and his school on fiction-motifs receives due recognition thruout the volumes, despite the omissions recorded below. Generous bibliographical references make it possible for future investigators to supplement the editor's summaries where limited space forbids detailed treatment. There are full indexes to each volume.

So far as the reviewer can judge, few errors or omissions can be charged to the editor. No doubt various other "motifs" might have been treated, but it would not be fair to count these as omissions; the most striking and important ones seem to be dealt with. I note the following additions or corrections.

Volume 1, page 44. In connexion with the *fabliau* "Constant du Hamel" we miss a reference to Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, 3d ed. (1911), pp. 454-457. To be sure, Bédier has little of value on the subject; he was ignorant of the Hindu parallel and therefore "doubts" whether there is any (!).

1, pages 50 and 54. This story occurs in the *Vikrama-carita* or *Sinhāsana-dvātriṃśakā*: "The Jealous King and the Ungrateful Prince," Frame-Story, Sections VI-VII (see my forthcoming edition and translation of that work, *HOS* 26 and 27, and Weber, *Ind. St.* 15, pages 301-309, where the KSS. parallel is cited). Somadeva's version is imperfect; it omits the acrostic, which was originally the main point. Grierson's oral tale, to which Penzer refers, agrees on several points (besides the acrostic, *sa-se-mi-rū*) with the Vikr. against the KSS. Grierson's informant gave the king the name of Bhoja; perhaps this may be connected with the fact that Bhoja is the secondary hero of the Vikr., in which this story is told to him, tho not of him.

1, page 186. "In the *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā* . . . the sagacity of a young boy brings a jewel-thief and his accomplices to justice." No such incident occurs in any Sanskrit version of the work named, I believe. It would be interesting to know the source of the statement.

Volume 2, pages 60 ff. On the "Overhearing" motif see Bloomfield, *AJP* 41 (1920), 309-335.

2, pages 120 ff. On "Women whose love is scorned" see now Bloomfield, "Joseph and Potiphar [i. e. Potiphar's Wife] in Hindu Fiction," *TAPA* 54 (1923), 141-167.

2, page 248, next to last line, for "Buddha" read "Budha."

Volume 3, pages 20 f. On the "Sacrifice of the Eyes" see Burlingame, *Buddhist Parables*, New Haven, 1922, pages 324-336.

3, page 40, note 2. Reichling, *JAOS* 39 (1919), pages 295-298, compares the details of Goethe's *Zauberlehrling* and its source, Lucian's *Φιλοψευδής*, and argues that Lucian probably got the story from an Egyptian popular tale.

3, page 70, note 1. On the "Crow and the Palm-tree" see Bloomfield, *AJP* 40 (1919), pages 1-36.

3, pages 277 ff. (Note at end of Ch. XLII; cf. also 1, page 52 note, and 2, pages 113 f., note). Allusion should have been made to the important Buddhist parallels to the "Letter (or Message) of Death," notably the story of Ghosaka; and also to the fact that the motif occurs in *Hamlet*. See Burlingame,

Buddhist Legends, HOS 28, pages 259 f.; *Buddhist Parables*, pages 133 f. and xxi; the same writer in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, pages 105-116 (Zoroastrian parallels); and J. Schick, *Corpus Hamleticum*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1912.

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Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur. By Wilhelm Kroll. J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart, 1924. 390 pp. M. 8.50 (bound M. 10).

The author of this interesting book had planned a comprehensive treatment of Hellenistic poetry but found himself prevented by the unsatisfactory condition of the text of Philodemus, and in consequence decided upon a reworking of some earlier essays, with an extension to the field of prose as well, thus presenting a cross-section through Roman literature less new in detail than in the method of treatment, and all written in a style, as he thinks, not too esoteric. His motto is "Wer vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen," and so varied are the subjects treated that detailed criticism within ordinary limits of space is about as difficult as with a new volume of Pauly-Wissowa or Roscher's *Lexikon*.

Of the fourteen chapters the first deals with Romans and Greeks, and finds the reasons for the endurance of Greek literary influence and its power over the Romans to lie, first, in a firm and imposing tradition based upon Homer, the lyric poets, and the three tragedians, and, second, in the possession of a definitely developed theory of literary types and technique, which, though occasionally hampering superior writers, was of service in keeping mediocre ones up to a standard. One of the few illustrations drawn from outside the Greco-Roman field is that in which the author compares the *auctoritas* of the Greeks with that by which French standards controlled the development of German literature.

Chapter two, on poetic creation, traces the transition from the more enthusiastic theories of divine inspiration (e. g., those of Democritus and Plato) to the calmer scientific views of Aristotle and Horace, discussing the vexed question of nature versus art, and the gradual substitution of learned, bookish writing, with consequent slowness of composition and abundant correction, for the earlier rapid and sometimes careless work. Reference might well have been made to G. C. Fiske's *Lucilius and Horace* (1920), with the subject of which, both here and elsewhere—notably in chapter seven—Kroll has not a little in common. The third chapter treats the materials of poetry and the limita-

tions to poetic invention, while the fourth deals with the relation of literature to morals, showing what the public expected of poetry, and the increasing employment of Homer and Virgil, in particular, for pedagogical purposes, with the consequent rise of moralizing and allegorical interpretation.

In tracing the influence of grammatical and rhetorical theories of language upon Roman literature (chapter five) the author emphasizes the results of the absence of any knowledge of comparative grammar, the lack of linguistic study for its own sake rather than as a mere adjunct to the explanation of texts, and the effects of theories based on the usage of single writers, with consequent impoverishment of the language. Here he finds the great service of Cicero in his use of the living tongue as the foundation of his style. Closely connected is the sixth chapter (Poet and Critic), which notes the important part played by grammarians in the development of Latin literature, from Livius Andronicus onward, and shows how the lack of really philosophical standards tended to turn criticism towards merely grammatical or formal matters, often trivial in importance.

One of the most interesting chapters is that on Originality and Imitation (chapter seven), in which the author emphasizes the effect upon Latin literature of the crystallization of the great Greek types (epos and drama especially) in subject matter as well as in form, and discusses such questions as plagiarism, centos, archaism, complimentary reminiscence, and the borrowing of motifs. The following two sections, on didactic poetry and on the crossing of literary types, contain somewhat less of interest; in the tenth chapter the publication of books of verse—necessitated by the desire to preserve such short works as epigrams—and the varieties in their arrangement are described, while the eleventh treats of the poetic language, with Greek influence appearing in the use of exotic words or constructions. Here Kroll reviews in some detail the part played by figures of speech, and devotes an excursus to a history of the epithet.

Chapters twelve and thirteen, again, are related in subject, one tracing the causes of the Roman incapacity for independent observation, as contrasted with Greek scientific studies, and the other the relations of science and pseudo-science, as seen in such phenomena as the love of the trivial—especially in biography—and fondness for the marvellous or romantic. The last chapter contains a detailed study of three historians, Curtius, Livy, and Tacitus, and seems somewhat loosely connected with the rest of the work.

After this outline a few supplementary remarks upon details may be permissible. To the discussion (p. 4) of the comparative richness of the Greek and Latin vocabularies may be added the note in my edition of Cicero, *De Div.* 2, 11 (pp. 367-368);

for the arrogance of the Greeks toward foreign writings (p. 10, n. 29) cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 88, 4; on the Muses (p. 27) we may now also note the remarks of Professor Bassett (*Class. Weekly*, 18 (1925), 193-196; for bees and the infant Plato (p. 31) my note on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 79 (p. 229). Professor Lane Cooper's studies of the *Tractatus Coislinianus* might well be mentioned on p. 45; on p. 62, along with the independence of thought of Thucydides upon mythological matters should be set that of Polybius; in connection with the translation of Greek philosophical terms into Latin (p. 252) the index of Latin equivalents of the Greek Stoic technical vocabulary in Adler's index to von Arnim's *Stoicorum veterum Fragmenta* (4 (1924), 169-174) may prove useful to some. The good remarks upon periphrasis (pp. 266-267) suggests the large part played by periphrasis in Sanskrit poetry; and for the belief in the dying song of the swan (p. 288) one should compare Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895), 106-107.

Latinists will observe with interest that on p. 11 Gallus is 'perhaps,' on p. 13 'not impossibily,' and on p. 175 'probably' the author of the *Ciris*; also Kroll's somewhat contemptuous rejection (p. 177) of Senecan authorship of the *Octavia* (but with no statement of reasons), and his declaration (p. 22) that, in spite of the Greek achievements during the classical period, the Augustan Roman poets surpassed practically all that Greek writers had produced during the preceding two hundred and fifty years.

This is enough to give a slight idea of the rich material here offered to the reader. The footnotes are crammed with useful hints, and might have been even more complete could larger use have been made of studies by others than Germans, but for this *post-bellum* conditions are probably in part, at least, responsible. A *résumé*, knitting together the sometimes loosely connected chapters into a compact whole, would have contributed much to the general impression made by the book, as would also, perhaps, the separate publication of the chapter on the historians, which appears rather different in character and treatment from the rest. These are minor criticisms, however, upon a book full of stimulating suggestion.

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ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE.

Symbolae Osloenses, Fasc. III, edited by Simson Eitrem and Gunnar Rudberg. Oslo, 1925, pp. 81. Illustrated.

This is the third volume of classical studies published under the auspices of the Greek and Latin faculty of the University of Oslo. It contains ten articles, for the most part by Oslo

scholars, in four languages, ranging in length from a half page to twenty-eight pages, and in subject from the history of Greek sculpture and vases to problems in inscriptions, textual criticism, and papyri.

One of the most interesting of these contributions is the first, *Porträtkopf eines numidischen Königs*, by Frederik Poulsen (pp. 1-12; 1 Pl. and 19 text-cuts), Keeper of the Classical Department of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen, and well-known for his books on classical art, notably his recent *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (Engl. transl. by G. C. Richards, 1923). This mutilated head of Greek marble is now in the Paus Collection in the National Gallery of Oslo, and represents a short-bearded man with a decorated Attic helmet, and is referred, because of its style and technique, to the beginning of the first century A. D. On the basis of a comparison of this head with six similar portraits in various museums of Europe and Africa usually ascribed to Ptolemy II of Numidia (figs. 11-19), the author unhesitatingly assigns it to that prince, who reigned from 23 to 40 A. D., instead of to his better known father, Juba II, famed as a historian and fanciful zoölogist as well as a collector of art works, who reigned ?25 B. C. to 23 A. D. Five portraits of the latter (figs. 4-10) are discussed, which are frequently confounded with those of his son.

The essay on Three Greek Lekythoi (pp. 13-19: figs. 1-6) is by one of the editors, Dr. Eitrem, who later on in the book also contributes two brief Latin notes on the Codex Par. gr. 2419 (p. 79) and a fragment of the Iliad *T* 78 f. (pp. 80-81), respectively. These vases, brought from Greece by the author and now in the Ethnographical Museum at Oslo, are of no great archaeological importance, though they present certain problems of interpretation. The first, a black-figured vase of Attic workmanship, shows three male figures, all filleted and holding staffs, the one in the center, bearded and enveloped in a himation, being seated, the other two standing and holding himatia on their outstretched arms. This scene has parallels on two other lekythoi: one, black-figured, in the British Museum (*B. M. Vases*, B576), showing two athletes, one with two spears and *halteres*, the other with a discus, and, facing the latter, a *paidotribes* with a staff; and another in Leyden (II, No. 1600) on which is represented a scene very similar to the one under discussion. The author rightly interprets the seated person as an *agonothetes* or athletic instructor and judge, rather than as a *paidotribes*, who is conventionally represented on vases as standing, and the two other figures as his assistants, *rhabdophoroi*. In such scenes the staff is generally forked, and the author points out that its use as a linear character in Minoan script may suggest a similar use

in Cretan sport. The second vase is a white glazed Athenian lekythos and shows a male figure wrapped in a mantle leaning forward and offering a *taenia* on a table or altar in honor of the dead. In this connection Dr. Eitrem discusses a lekythos in the British Museum (D, 25), which shows a libation scene which he interprets, chiefly because of a myrtle-twigg held in the left hand of the figure, as a sacrifice to the dead. Lastly, a white Athenian lekythos in dull finish shows a stepped pillar decorated with acanthus leaves below and above, and surmounted by a palmette. On either side stands a woman bearing offerings to the dead, the one at the left holding a small bird in her right hand, a dove or a goose, probably as an offering rather than a domestic pet of the dead, the other a *taenia*.

Dr. Rudberg, the co-editor, contributes two studies, one a discussion of a fragment from the Iliad, Bk. VI, 196-224 and 236-275, on a badly mutilated papyrus of the third century A. D. now in the University of Oslo (pp. 76-77), in reference to the previous treatment of the same subject by Fridrichsen in Fasc. II of the *Symbolae*. One of the more difficult problems treated is Les inscriptions des casques de Negau, Styrie, by Carl Marstrander (pp. 37-64 and figs. 1-2). These two inscribed bronze helmets, unearthed a century ago by a Styrian peasant in a cache of twenty, were later studied palaeographically by Mommsen (*Mitth. d. antiquar. Gesellsch. in Zürich*, VII, 1853, 208 f.), and palaeographically and linguistically by Pauli (*Alt-italische Forschungen*, I, 1883), and in part more recently by the runic scholar Magnus Olsen (*Zeitschr. f. Celtische Philologie*, IV, 23 f.). While Mommsen assigned them to an alphabet which he called North Etruscan, used in countries north of Etruria to the borders of Provence, Switzerland, Carinthia, and Styria, and which he subdivided into eight variants, and Pauli similarly to the same alphabet, which he divided into four classes named from the chief regions of their extension—Lugano, Sondrio, Bozen, and Este—Marstrander assigns the two inscriptions on helmet A, one engraved and the other pricked, the first of which he finds engraved by two different hands, and all three of the same age though probably not of the same locality, to the Bozen variant: and the inscription on helmet B, which Pauli referred to South Etruscan, a conclusion also refuted by the etruscologist Danielsson, similarly to the same Bozen variety. As for the language of these inscriptions, Mommsen left it undetermined and Pauli referred the engraved inscription of A to North Etruscan and the dotted one to Euganean, and that of B to South Etruscan. Marstrander, however, refers those on A to a Celtic dialect as spoken, perhaps, by the Taurisci in the second century B. C., and that of B to a language, also Celtic in structure, as spoken, perhaps, by a Germanic tribe in the first century B. C.

The essay entitled *Les clausules dans les discours de Salluste, Tite Live, et Tacite*, by Ragnar Ullmann (pp. 65-75) is a penetrating study of the rhythms used by the three Latin historians, carried out in far greater detail than in the recent comprehensive work of A. W. de Groot, *Der antike Prosarhythmus* (Groningen, 1921), which treats the evolution of rhythmic prose from its origin in Greek literature to the decadence of Latin. K. F. W. Schmidt briefly criticises the text of the magical papyri (pp. 78-79), and Nils Nilén in more extended fashion discusses *Excerpta Luciana* (pp. 26-36).

This little volume is a most creditable performance, and shows both the live interest in the scientific study of the Classics at the great Scandinavian University, and also what can be accomplished by a local body of scholars working in collaboration. The bringing out of such contributions in several languages—Dr. Eitrem writes seemingly indifferently in five—also shows a linguistic versatility quite unknown among western scholars.

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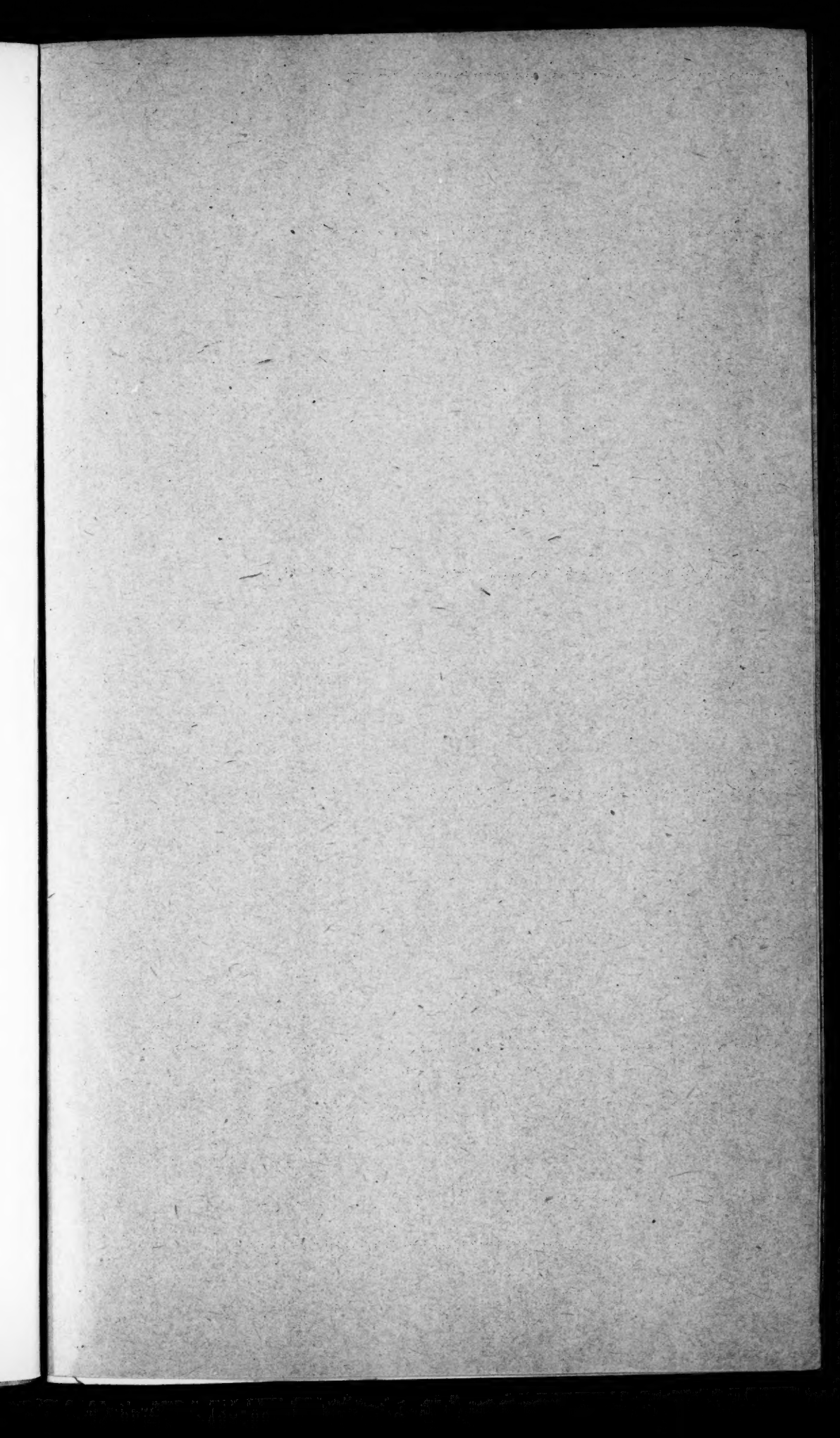
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